THE SURVEY

GRAPHIC NUMBER

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EAST BY WEST

OUR WINDOWS ON THE PACIFIC

ROBERT E. PARK -- JOHN DEWEY -- WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE -- CHESTER ROWELL -- EMORY S. BOGARDUS
CHARLES A. BEARD -- JOHN STEWART BURGESS -- LEWIS S. GANNETT -- ELIOT G. MEARS -- J. MERLE DAVIS
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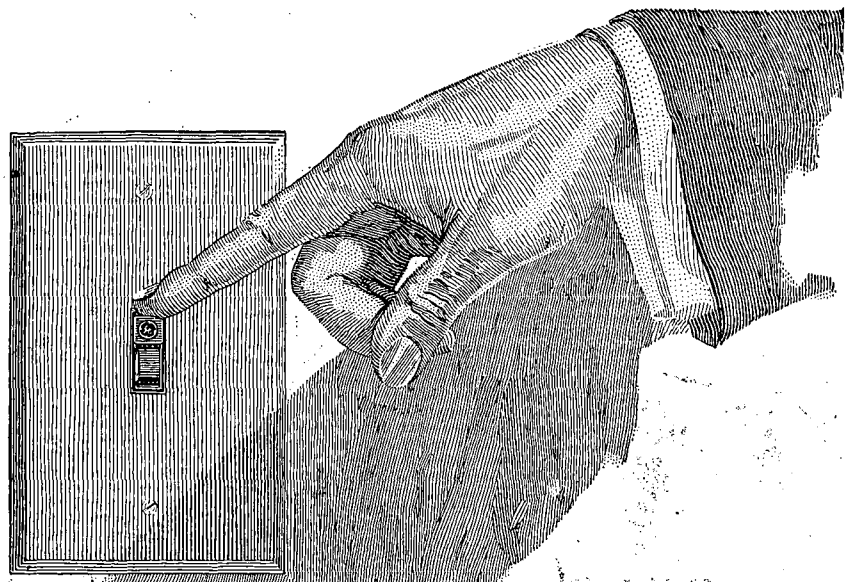

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Analytic Index to This Number

May 1, 1926

Child Welfare:
- Conflict in the alien child, p. 137
- Children of two worlds, p. 167

Family Welfare:
- The Chinese family as a social unit, p. 155
- Birth control as a racial solution, p. 189

The Law and Lawbreakers:
- Chinese and the American courts, p. 155
- Americans and the Chinese courts, p. 182

The Conquest of Disease:
- Disease and racial distribution, p. 192

Mental Hygiene:
- Changes of mood in a race, p. 138

Organizing Social Forces:
- Lines of cleavage in a Japanese community, p. 143
- A conference that didn't "resolve," p. 176
- Elements in the new China, p. 185

The City Community:
- The Jewish ghetto, pp. 136, 158
- Urbanization of oriental workers, pp. 152, 218
- The Chinese ghetto, p. 154
- Rainbow civics in Hilo, p. 177

The Country Community:
- Japanese in the California desert, p. 141
- Farm geography and race distribution, p. 146
- Tenant farming in California, p. 147
- Crop history of a Washington valley, p. 153

Immigration and Race Relations:
- This entire number falls in general under this head: the theory of contact between groups and nations is set forth particularly in the articles beginning on pp. 135, 169, and 192

School and Community:
- University cooperation in race research, p. 133
- Does education pay the alien? p. 164

Education Outside the School:
- Education through voluntary association, p. 168
- Education through frank talk, p. 176
- Educational movements in China, p. 185
- Race contact through the cinema, p. 195

Industrial Conditions:
- Japanese farm hands, p. 148
- The Hawaiian sugar worker, p. 178
- Japanese workers and the Chinese tariff, p. 187
- World economics and the worker, p. 193

Industrial Relations:
- Race cleavage in cooperative marketing, p. 142
- Oriental and white labor compared, p. 147
- Benevolent oligarchy in Hawaii, p. 178
- Organized labor and race research, p. 201

Peace and International Relations;
- The Pacific vortex, p. 133
- Race friction and international policy, p. 175
- Chinese attitudes, pp. 182, 183, 188
- Japanese attitudes, pp. 187, 189, 194
- Communism in China, p. 200
- The end of the white man's myth, p. 210

Motives and Ideals:
- "Face" and etiquette, p. 135
- The choice of cultures, p. 168
- Missionaries and Yankees, p. 178
- The impact of missions on China, p. 181
- Force or conciliation, pp. 186, 189
- Does paternalism work? p. 188

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About Ourselves

THERE'S no one who gets into print more easily than William Allen White. You know the look of the man—rotund as his writings are robust. Someone asked him how he kept fit. "I get my exercise," he said, "by acting as pall-bearer at the funerals of friends who have died from various schemes of physical training." This story was broadcasted in a hundred newspapers.

But when, last summer, Mr. White journeyed all the way from Emporia to Hawaii, to write up the Pan-Pacific Conference on International Relations as the focus of one of the great human situations of our times—he could not place his article.

"Think of it," he said, "I'm 58 years old and never had a manuscript rejected before in my life. Bang—bang—bang, it came back in turn from the three biggest weeklies in America."

THAT even White could not break through to the big circulations with such a story, is one half our point; the other half is that at Honolulu he hobnobbed with his old Bull Moose friend, Chester Rowell of California. On the boat back, Rowell wrote for us his luminous account of the same conference—East of the East, West of the West. Survey readers had Mr. Rowell's story on their desks within the month.

MEANWHILE, President Wilbur of Leland Stanford recently told us that the Pan-Pacific Conference got out one thousand copies of its report and these were mostly given away.

Between the unreached million of the big weekly, the thousand reached by the report—comes Survey Graphic with its 25,000 net circulation, its 30,000, 40,000 reached by special numbers—and going up. Right there is the nib of our adventurous undertaking in developing this co-operative journal of ours as a carrier of social intelligence that can pioneer in ways the commercial publications can't or won't, but that swings far outside the old circle of formal publications; that has allure and educational purpose and drive.

THE great human situation which Mr. White envizaged in Hawaii becomes the text in this issue for a special number—the fifth in the sequence of racial issues which Survey Graphic has brought out since its inception in 1921: The New Ireland; Russia in the Throes of Revolution; Mexico—Our Neighbors to the South, and last year; Harlem: Mecca of the New Negro, which ran into two editions and afforded a fresh approach to our oldest race problem at home.

What we have attempted in these special numbers and in the case of race relations, we endeavor to do throughout the year, in the fields of education and industry, social work, health, community upbuilding. It means searching out creative, social and economic developments in their inception. It means handling them from six months to six years before the big commercial periodicals feel they have popular interest. It means finding and winning the exceptional people—you for instance—who are ready for such a carrier of social intelligence.

NOW, we have twenty-two thousand eight hundred forty-five reasons for believing there are a mounting number of people who "want to know." They are our regular annual subscribers. We have eighteen hundred and fifty-six reasons for believing that one out of ten of them will help foot the bills of our "organized curiosity." They subscribe at the rate of $10 or more a year and make up Survey Associates, the membership corporation which owns The Survey and Survey Graphic.

A Glimpse Ahead

The On-Coming Generation

Our juvenile court and psychiatric clinics are two outposts on the frontiers of youth. What the leaders in child study are learning is of first-rate interest to parents. Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Miriam Van Waters, Eleanor R. Wembridge, Mary Ross, are among the writers who have clues to offer.

More About the East

Following the generous sheaf of Oriental articles in this issue, The Survey Graphic will publish soon Vera Kelsey's study of the labor movement in China, Paul Blanshard's summary of Japanese labor progress, another of John Stewart Burgess' interpretations of current Chinese happenings, and a pair of sympathetic sketches of the racial drama in Hawaii, by Clara Cahill Park.

Free Schools

Not in the American sense of tax-supported education but in the Danish sense of independence for teachers and pupils—that is the nib of the articles Joseph K. Hart is writing on the most amazing educational adventure of our times. The June Graphic will interpret the California experiment in immigrant education—the first state-wide service of a public school system.

The New Industrial Triangle

Enter the engineer and the technician with a place at the council table alongside the employer and the labor leader. Sometimes it is in a big electrical plant, sometimes a repair shop, a mine, a railroad yard. Robert W. Bruère is appraising the meaning of it in close-in studies of the new triumvirate.

Health

Haven Emerson, George E. Vincent, Ray Lyman Wilbur, Lillian D. Wald—do the names mean anything to you in the new convergence of doctors and nurses and laymen on the problems of robust living? They are among our contributors.

Horizon Lines

James G. McDonald, chairman of the Foreign Policy Association, writes monthly for Survey Graphic. S. K. Ratcliffe, Francis Hackett, John Palmer Gavit, and Cornelia Stratton Parker are among our overseas contributors.

SURVEY ASSOCIATES, INC.
112 East 19 Street, New York
PUBLISHERS
THE SURVEY—Twice-a-month—$5.00 a year
SURVEY GRAPHIC—Monthly—$3.00 a year
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THE SURVEY

Graphic Number

Vol. LVI, No. 3 May 1, 1926

CONTENTS

EAST BY WEST 133
BEHIND OUR MASKS . . . *Robert E. Park* 135
I The East in the West
WE SAID: "LET'S FIND THE FACTS" . . . *J. Merle Davis* 140
THEIR PLACE IN THE SUN . . . . . *Winifred Raushenbush* 141
THE LAND, THE CROPS, AND THE ORIENTAL . . . . . *Eliot Grinnell Mears* 146
THE ORIENTAL FINDS A JOB . *R. D. McKenzie* 151
THE GREAT WALL OF CHINATOWN . . . *Winifred Raushenbush* 154
FIVE PORTRAITS OF ORIENTALS IN AMERICA *Winold Reiss* 159
TWO POEMS . . . . . *Flora Belle Jan* 164
THREE ROADS, AND NONE EASY . *Kazuo Kawai* 164
BORN AMERICAN, BUT— . *William C. Smith* 167
SOCIAL DISTANCE: A MEASURING STICK *Emory S. Bogardus* 169
II The West in the East
JAPANESE STUDENTS, Drawings by *C. Leroy Baldridge* 172
WESTERN WINDOWS TO THE EAST . . . *Chester H. Rowell* 173
THE LAST OF THE MAGIC ISLES . . . . *William Allen White* 176
CHINESE TYPES, Drawings by *C. Leroy Baldridge* 180
LOOKING AT AMERICA—IN CHINA . . . . *Lewis Stiles Gannett* 181
THE NEW CYCLE OF CATHAY AND AMERICA'S PART IN IT . *John Stewart Burgess* 183
NEXT STEPS IN A PACIFIC POLICY . . . *Raymond T. Rich* 186
AMERICA AND THE FAR EAST: THE ISSUES OF PACIFIC POLICY . . . . *John Dewey* 188
Charles and Mary Beard 189
OUR RACIAL FRONTIER ON THE PACIFIC *Robert E. Park* 192
EDITORIALS 197

The Gist of It

TO Robert E. Park, professor of sociology in the University of Chicago, research director of the Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast, author of The Immigrant Press and its Control, leader in an effort to apply sociological technique to the understanding in human terms of the amazing phenomenon of race adjustment and urban life; and to Winifred Raushenbush, his associate in the coast survey and in other research enterprises, The Survey is indebted for their editorial collaboration on this special number. Thanks are due Galen M. Fisher, executive secretary of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, for putting the materials gathered in the survey at our disposal, and to many of Professor Park's co-workers on the coast, where the interplay of eastern and western university men and women gave the whole enterprise a distinctively rounded character. Members of the faculty of these institutions participated in the survey: the Universities of California, Southern California, Oregon, Washington and British Columbia, Stanford University, College of the Pacific, Pomona College, Occidental College. Some fruits of this collaboration form the first of the two main sections in which the number falls—The East in the West.

PROFESSOR PARK'S initial article (p. 135) is a mellow statement of the psychological background of race contacts and adjustment everywhere. Mr. Davis, whose connection with the survey of race relations is noted on p. 140, traces the initial impact, and later repercussion, of the inquiry on public opinion on the Coast.

PROFESSOR MEARS, of Stanford, formerly American trade commissioner at Athens and at Constantinople, now executive secretary of the Survey of Race Relations, writes of oriental adventures in agriculture in terms of the map of California (p. 146).

THE shifting process by which oriental workers generally have found their economic rôle on the coast is traced by Professor McKenzie, who gives at the University of Washington the first course in the country on "human ecology," and is now completing a round-the-world journey as a Kahn Traveling Fellow (p. 151).

EXTRATERRITORIALITY is a catchword of foreign policy in China. Intraterritoriality is a significant, though not always recognized, factor in the life of the Chinese in America. Miss Raushenbush tells how (p. 154).

WHILE living in a studio in San Francisco, Chinatown, Clara Cahill Park collected life histories of American-born Orientals for the Race Relations Survey and made sketches of a number of her friends (p. 166).

FLORA BELLE JAN (p. 164) is an American-born Chinese girl in her 'teens who grew up in Chinatown Alley, Fresno, and is now studying at the University of Chicago. Kazuo Kawai (p. 164) is studying at Stanford University. Professor Smith, who interprets the dilemma of the group to which these young Oriental-Americans belong (p. 167), is professor in the department of sociology of the University of Southern California.

"SOCIAL distance," one of the major technical innovations of the race relations survey, was devised by Professor Bogardus of Southern California, editor of the Journal of Applied Sociology (p. 169).

MR. ROWELL'S spirited account of the currents of feeling on the coast, the issues of exclusion, of caste and of democracy, is one of a series of articles from his busy pen (p. 173). He was for many years a sort of unofficial minister of foreign affairs for the commonwealth of California.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE (p. 176) is *the* William Allen White. Lewis Gannett, associate editor of The Nation, wrote from Canton in the course of a winter in the Orient (p. 181). His fresh impressions compare interestingly with the long-term observation of China by Professor Burgess of Princeton-in-Peking (p. 183).

MR. RICH (p. 186), recently home from sixteen months in the Orient, is now field secretary of the Foreign Policy Association and directs its research work in far eastern affairs.

TO few men is it given to modify in their own day not only philosophical but political and educational thinking. Since his year in China in 1919—20 John Dewey has been a close student and constructive interpreter of Chinese-American relations, so that his judgment as to their central factor (p. 188) carries authority—as does that of Mr. and Mrs. Beard with reference more particularly to Japan (p. 189). Professor Beard is the kind of "historian" to whom a city like Tokyo cables for help and technical guidance when it has an earthquake.

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THE SURVEY
GRAPHIC NUMBER

MAY 1, 1926

Volume LVI
No. 3

East by West

It is around the Pacific that things are happening
It is from the Pacific that the news comes

ON the Pacific Coast Americans encounter a new orientation—in both meanings of the word. Confronted with the Orient at the seam of the hemispheres we must get our bearings afresh: in the course of time this process amounts to a reversal of our point of view, a reversal as complete as the climatic one when the voyager crosses the equator. We *were* looking east, toward the Atlantic. Now we are looking west, toward the Pacific.

Not that our position has changed, in reality, with reference to the points of the compass. Nor that the westward look is altogether new to us. We have always had the sense of looking west, even on the eastern seaboard, and certainly in the "Middle West." We have never quite forgotten the picture of the covered wagon on the horizon. We have always, it seems, been a part of that stream which has been steadily moving westward since the Pilgrims first settled in Boston and the first London Adventurers landed in Jamestown.

Once we actually reach the Pacific, however, something quite different happens to us. We feel that somehow and in spite of ourselves we are more and more completely turning our backs upon the Atlantic and the long stretches of mountain and prairie that separate it from the Pacific. More and more we find ourselves looking out expectantly, and sometimes apprehensively, across the western ocean. It is not a change of position: it is rather a change of attitude. We look to the Pacific because there the future lies. It is around the Pacific that things are happening; it is from the Pacific that the news comes.

This phenomenon has a geographical explanation. Our Pacific coast is a comparatively narrow stretch of land on the rim of a wide basin some seven thousand miles long by five thousand miles wide. On one side of this basin are nations with teeming population, on the other vast areas of relatively vacant territory. One rim of the basin shelters the oldest and most stable of living civilizations; the other the most recent and most progressive. As ships ply the intervening waters in ever larger numbers; as trade multiplies; as all forms of intercourse increase—as they must, and as distances dissolve under the magic of steam and of electricity, the Pacific assumes more and more the character of a vortex into which the interests of every race and tribe and nation living on its borders converge.

IT is with a sense of the transcending character of the racial encounter which American whites, sweeping across the continent, have come upon on the Pacific coast that this special number is conceived. By rare fortune, Robert E. Park, life-long student of its only counterpart in our national experience—the changing relations between colored and white in the South—was chosen by the Institute of Social and Religious Research to direct the Race Relations Survey which has engaged the collaboration of university men in the leading colleges of the Pacific in one of the major pieces of social introspection of our time. This number interprets for the first time in an inclusive way some of their findings in terms of oriental migration and settlement, on the land and in industry, singly and in communities, the persistence of ancient institutions and the rise of the native-born of oriental parentage. And at its outset we have asked the director of the survey to set forth its deepest meanings to him in terms of contact of man with man.

What has happened in terms of individual experience on the comparatively small stage of our Pacific states points the way to what is happening in terms of group experience in the vast arena of the Pacific basin. In the second part of this special number we scan that other rim of human contact beyond the greatest ocean, and see ourselves mirrored in these new border waters of the world. The white man's status in the Orient; the curious pattern of his aims and his illusions seen athwart the shifting masses of the East—these are matched against the Oriental's outer status and internal conflicts on our own shores.

EAST by west, therefore, this number offers a rapid survey of two frontiers where Asiatics and Americans meet: the eastern fringe of the ocean where the Asiatic is the stranger, the western fringe where the American is alien.

And between them, the dwindling ocean.

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A NOH MASK FROM THE IMPERIAL THEATER, JAPAN

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Behind Our Masks

By ROBERT E. PARK

Photographs of Japanese Noh Masks by Courtesy of Irene Lewisohn

PRESENT differences between the Orient and the Occident are largely concerned with what the Chinese call "face."

In China's earlier negotiations with Europe, Chinese diplomacy invariably emerged with a sense of triumph whenever it was possible to find a formula which saved China's face, no matter what the material loss. But in her more recent encounters with foreign devils, China has suffered losses that no diplomatic formulae can explain away. The shock and humiliation of repeated defeats is reflected in the rising tide of nationalism.

The whole present situation between Japan and the United States, likewise, is largely a matter of etiquette. Japan had lost the battle in America before the passage of the Exclusion Law of 1924. The position of the Japanese in America had been completely undermined by the passage of the Alien Land Law. Not only that, but under the influence of the continued irritation and agitation the social status of the Japanese in America was steadily declining. The drift of legislation and of court decisions had gone steadily against the Oriental. All the deeper currents, the undertow of public sentiment, were carrying the Japanese in the United States, in spite of every effort to conciliate American public opinion, into the same sort of racial ghetto in which the Chinese before them had found refuge.

At the same time a new caste was slowly emerging on the Pacific Coast, a caste in which the Oriental was destined to occupy as definite a position in American society as the Negro, who, even though he be legally a citizen, has been socially an outcast. These subterranean forces in American life would have made the position of the Oriental in America untenable, even had there been no exclusion law, and at the moment exclusion was inevitable. Japanese statesmen were certainly not wholly unaware of this. They were, in fact, preparing to accept a modification of the Immigration Law that would have amounted, in practice, to exclusion. What they hoped for, apparently, was an opportunity to retire, without loss of dignity, from a struggle in which they had lost everything else. What they sought to maintain was not so much a principle as an attitude.

It is a little difficult to believe that in the minds of Japanese statesmen there were no other and more substantial interests involved in the exclusion legislation than those of international courtesy; but the Japanese people were undoubtedly shocked less by the act than by the gesture by which it was performed. And what was their reply? An unknown man committed suicide on the site of the American Embassy. Something like an epidemic of suicides ensued. This characteristically oriental protest was followed by other demonstrations, directed not so much against America as against the cult of America that had grown up in Japan, the most outrageous manifestations of which were the popularity of American dances and of the American cinema.

America, however, missed the significance, as well as the pathos, of Japan's tragic gesture. It was not the act, but the spirit that animated it, against which Japan protested, and sought, in this dramatic way, to defend herself. It was in this way that the Japanese people sought to appeal their case to a higher court; to the future; to the conscience of mankind; to whatever gods there be that rule the destinies if nations. The whole incident is illuminating, since it indicates to what an extent, for the Oriental, this whole matter lies in the region of the so-called imponderables, in the realm of spirit.

Such a conception of things is quite foreign to the customary American manner of thinking. All the more so because in this controversy neither our national honor nor our national prestige—nothing but our material interests—was, or seemed to be, involved in the contentions of those elements in our population who in sum have shaped our national frontage toward the Orient. We do not want competition at home, but we should like to have it abroad. We do not want Japanese farmers in California, but our business groups would like to have an open door in China. Add these together and we have the program of the Pacific coast as stated succinctly and accurately by George Wheeler Hinman, one of the trumpets through which Mr. Hearst, of the Examiners, has essayed to proclaim the voice of the people all over our broad land:

> First, no more Japanese immigration, because "Americans do not intend to be disinherited in their own country."
> Second, fair treatment of the Japanese already here.
> Third, equal rights and privileges in the business and commercial development of East Asia.

If human relations could be reduced to the simple and rational term of popular economics, life would be much less complicated and very much less interesting than it actually is. But economic relations are always more or less involved with the stubborn and incalculable factors of human nature. Furthermore, the plain, practical interests of the economic man, theoretically so permanent and calculable, are always complicated with sentiments that change in what seem quite irrational ways, and in ways that are quite beyond our control. It is, on the whole, in the region of the sentiments rather than of the interests, it seems to me, that the problem of race relations in the Pacific mainly lies.

In his interesting little volume, The Neighbor, Nathaniel Shaler, who was one of our first and keenest of human naturalists, pointed out that when strangers meet it is not the individual that they see in one another first, but the type. Knowledge proceeds by classification, and this is as true of persons as of material objects. It is the strange, and in human beings, the outlandish, that first fixes and fascinates our attention. Where racial differences are great, the individual is often quite unseen.

Why is it that to the average American all Chinese, like all Negroes, look alike? It is because the individual man is

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concealed behind the racial type. The individual is there, to be sure, but we do not meet him. Where racial characteristics are marked, and where the social distances that separate the races are great, it sometimes happens that he is not discovered at all. Under these circumstances, as Shaler points out, the stranger remains strange; a representative of his race, but not a neighbor.

These racial traits and racial differences that constitute the racial type and conceal the individual man are not always or altogether physical. Physical differences are emphasized and reenforced by differences of dress, of manner, of deportment, and by characteristic expressions of the face.

IT is not, according to Fishberg, because Jews are a race, in the anthropological sense, that in so many parts of the world they are so easily identified. It is because they have a history. "Centuries of confinement in the ghetto, ceaseless sufferings under the ban of abuse and persecution have been instrumental in producing a characteristic, psychic type, which manifests itself in his cast of countenance, which is considered peculiarly Jewish."

The Jew, however, emerges finally from the ghetto and with the natural vivacity and intellectual virtuosity which is his heritage, enters into all the varied interests of this modern cosmopolitan life. The old, haunting memories of his racial history grow dim. He loses his characteristic type, his cast of countenance, and sometimes even his soul. In the vast tide of cosmopolitan life the Jewish racial type does not so much disappear as become invisible. When he is no longer seen, anti-Semitism declines. For race prejudice is a function of visibility. The races of high visibility, to speak in naval parlance, are the natural and inevitable objects of race prejudice.

The emancipation of the Jews has not taken place without internal struggle and external conflict. Jewry itself has been swept repeatedly by cross currents of sentiment. When the forward, outward movement of the race has been too rapid, it has invariably provoked a racial reaction in the outer Gentile world, and Jewish life has been thrown back upon itself. What then happens is that the Jewish community contracts and withdraws into itself. Shadows of the old ghetto walls arise. Jewry returns to the sources of its inspiration and its strength; and becomes conscious of itself as a people set apart, a chosen people, a people with a destiny and a mission.

Among those Jews who, because they have lived among us all longer, have departed farthest from the ancient heritage and penetrated deepest into the life of the outer Gentile world, these recurring outbursts of racial prejudice and the resulting revulsions of Jewish life inevitably provoke profound moral disturbances. It is not easy, in the long run it is impossible, for those who have once gone out, ever to return, even though the ghetto walls are no longer visible. The result is, however, that they are obsessed with a sense of moral isolation; they feel themselves not quite at home either in the Gentile or the Jewish world. Life goes on outwardly as it did before, but they are possessed by insatiable restlessness, and "a secret anguish" gnaws at the core of their existence.

In view of this history, the old legend of the wandering Jew finds a new interpretation, since it is impossible to be at ease in a world where one is not wanted, and the Jew, it sometimes seems to him, is not wanted anywhere, not even in Jerusalem. In this twentieth century it is the Jew's fate to be a cosmopolitan in a world which is still dominated by an intransigent nationalism.

What has happened more than once in the history of the Jewish people, is precisely what has happened to the Oriental on the Pacific coast; what is happening, in a very special sense, to the second and third generation of Orientals. It is, in fact, only by comparisons such as these that we can make the present position of the Oriental in America intelligible.

I RECENTLY had the curious experience of talking with a young Japanese woman who was not only born in the United States, but was brought up in an American family, in an American college town, where she had almost no association with members of her own race. I found myself watching her expectantly for some slight accent, some gesture or intonation that would betray her racial origin. When I was not able, by the slightest expression, to detect the oriental mentality behind the oriental mask, I was still not able to escape the impression that I was listening to an American woman in a Japanese disguise.

A few months later I met this same young woman after she had returned from her first, and perhaps her last, visit to Japan. She was unusually reticent about her experiences, but explained that it was impossible for her to remain longer in Japan, although she had had every intention of doing so. She had found herself at a peculiar disadvantage there, because, though she looked like a Japanese, she was unable to speak the language; and besides, her dress, her language, everything about her, in fact, betrayed her American origin. The anomaly struck the Japanese public as something scandalous, almost uncanny. When she appeared on the streets, crowds followed her. They resented, perhaps even more at the time because of the recent passage of the Alien Land law, the appearance of a Japanese woman in the masquerade of an American lady.

Many of the earlier Japanese immigrants who came to California and settled with their families on the land, enter-

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tained rather romantic notions about America. They came with the deliberate purpose of casting in their lot with the American people, and rearing their children to be Americans. This was particularly true of the little Christian colony at Livingston, which is described elsewhere in this number. Now, however, these Japanese pilgrims are restless and uncertain about their future. Many of them would like to return to Japan, but their children prefer to stay here.

Meanwhile, something extraordinary is taking place in these same children. They are growing up to be Americans, and, as such, are more or less disposed to accept the estimates of Japanese, and of all Orientals, which are current in the communities in which they live. Children acquire the prevailing attitudes in the community by a kind of moral infection, but even the adults are not immune, and there are moments when they are not wholly able to overcome that "sickening sense of inferiority" which overtakes most of us at times; moments when they could say, what members of other racial minorities have sometimes said: "I hate my race! I hate myself!"

In this way the conflict between the Orient and the Occident, which presents itself in one of its aspects as external and international, assumes, in another aspect, the character of an internal and moral conflict. It becomes a conflict of loyalty; a struggle to knit together the strands of a divided self, to find a place to live, and preserve one's moral integrity in a world in which one can hardly hope for understanding or recognition. For the Oriental who is born in America and educated in our western schools is culturally an Occidental, even though he be racially an Oriental, and this is true to an extent that no one who has not investigated the matter disinterestedly and at first hand is ever likely to imagine.

IT is probably no mere historical accident that the word person, in its first meaning, is a mask. It is rather a recognition of the fact that everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a rôle. We are parents and children, masters and servants, teachers and students, clients and professional men, Gentiles and Jews. It is in these rôles that we know each other; it is in these rôles that we know ourselves.

Our very faces are living masks, which reflect, to be sure, the changing emotions of our inner lives, but tend more and more to conform to the type we are seeking to impersonate. Not only every race, but every nationality, has its characteristic "face," its conventional mask. As Emerson points out in English Traits:

> Every religious sect has its physiognomy. The Methodists have acquired a face, the Quakers a face, the nuns a face. An Englishman will point out a dissenter by his manner. Trades and professions carve their own lines on faces and forms.

In a sense, and in so far as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves—the role we are striving to live up to—this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become persons.

NOW, one striking difference between oriental and occidental people is that the former are more conscious, more conventional, in their behavior than we. They are more elaborate in their manners, and more meticulous in preserving social forms. Etiquette is an immensely more serious matter with the oriental than it is with the occidental peoples. That is the reason why the Chinese go to such elaborate lengths to save their face. "To save your face" is to preserve an attitude, and to maintain self-control.

It is not so many years ago, according to Lafcadio Hearn, that the Japanese regarded a breach of etiquette as a crime, even a sin. There was a time when a Samurai might kill an individual of the inferior classes who was guilty of rudeness, and as a rude fellow was defined as "an-other-than expected person," to commit an offense worthy of death it was only necessary to act "in an unexpected way."

Etiquette is not a characteristic trait of an individualistic society like our own. Democracy is impatient of forms. The social distances that are still maintained in Japan, where etiquette has become a fine art, are quite incomprehensible to the average American. On the other hand, the impatient directness, the disconcerting candor of our speech and manner, the lack of reserve which we everywhere display, strikes the thoroughbred Oriental, I suspect, not only as indecent, but almost obscene.

Orientals live more completely behind the mask than the rest of us. Naturally enough we misinterpret them, and attribute to disingenuousness and craft what is actually conformity to an ingrained convention. The American who is flattered at first by the politeness of his Japanese servant will later on, perhaps, cite as a reproach against the race the fact that "we can never tell what a Japanese is thinking about." "We never know what is going on in their heads."

ALL this changes, however, in the second generation. The contrast between the Chinese-born in this country and their parents is sometimes startling. The native sons are likely to be brusque and familiar. If they enter your house at all, they use the front door, not the

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back. They haven't the slightest ambition to follow in the steps of their parents, and they are likely to speak with a certain amount of contempt of the "grinning subservience" of those faithful Chinese servants of the older generation to whom the people of the Pacific coast refer affectionately and regretfully, now that they have gone.

In the case of the Japanese, the break between the older and the younger generation is usually not so abrupt and so complete, but the native-born Japanese will probably not remain on the farm, even in cases where they are able to realize the ambitions of their parents and become proprietors. It is not merely that they are infected with what we sometimes call the American spirit, but they cannot endure the isolation of a rural community. The same forces that have driven the Jew into the freer air of the city, are making of the Japanese farmer a city man. With this change in residence and ideals, there has been an abrupt mutation in racial characteristics. It is probably true of the Oriental, as of other immigrant peoples, that in the process of Americanization, only superficial traits are modified, but *most of the racial traits that determine race relations are superficial.*

The facts indicating the nature and extent of the changes that are taking place in the manners and character of the younger generation of Orientals are probably the most significant that our Race Relations Survey on the Pacific coast has thus far disclosed. They tend to emphasize and reenforce a growing conviction among students of human nature that the most important, if not the most fundamental, differences between nations and peoples, aside from physical characteristics, are reflected in their manners, in their etiquette, and in the conceptions which they form of themselves. The characteristic traits of people are, in other words, not so much innate qualities as conventions.

BUT conventions change. They have changed in Europe since the war. Mussolini has set a new fashion in Italy, and the Italian character is apparently changing under the influence of a new national ideal. The Germans have assumed in Europe a decidedly different rôle from that which they sought to play before the war. And the German character—all the superficial features of that character, at any rate—is changing.

Nothing which our recent studies in individual psychology and psychiatry has disclosed in regard to human behavior is more interesting and more surprising than the sudden changes which take place in personality under the influence of a persistent mood, particularly when that mood becomes the basis of the individual's new conception of himself. When such changes of mood take place in a whole people, and the mood of individuals is reenforced and sustained by the contagious influence of other individuals, manners and customs, art and literature, all the natural forms of expression reflect the change in attitude and orientation.

Physical traits, however, do not change. The Oriental in America experiences a profound transfiguration in sentiment and attitude, but he cannot change his physical characteristics. He is still constrained to wear his racial uniform; he cannot, much as he may sometimes like to do so, cast aside the racial mask.

The physical marks of race, in so far as they increase the racial visibility, inevitably segregate the races, set them apart, and so prolong and intensify the racial conflict. If it is true that it is the type, the abstraction and not the individual, that we see in the stranger first, it is just as true that it is the individual and not the type that we see in our friends. It is a curious thing about human faces that when we look at them, abstractly and disinterestedly, most of them are ugly, some of them uncanny, and all of them are more or less caricatures. It is only as we become aware of the feelings, the passions, and the curiously changing moods which they reflect, that faces become interesting. It is, in fact, only as faces become expressive that the persons behind these living masks assume for us the character of human beings.

It is curious and interesting that this character that we call human should be so intimately connected with expressiveness. Human interest, as we ordinarily use that phrase, attaches to anything that is "expressive"; that is, to anything that suggests, symbolizes or reveals sentiments and passions in others of which we are immediately conscious in ourselves. The faces we know have no secrets for us. For that reason, if for no other, we feel secure and at home with them as we do not among less familiar faces. Probably the most expressive, the most human face we ever know, is that of a mother; or it may be that of an old nurse, even that of an old black mammy.

One of the first and most important discoveries that one who meets an alien people for the first time is likely to make, is that, different as they seem, most strange people, when you come to know them, turn out to be human like ourselves. It always requires an effort of imagination to realize this. It is because their faces are for us not expressive; and we, in turn, do not respond to sentiments whose expression we are not able to read.

When we say, as we often do, that human nature is fundamentally everywhere and always the same, we mean simply that when we are able to penetrate to the motives behind customs and conduct which at first seemed strange, outlandish and forbidding, they inevitably turn out to be motives such as might have moved us under similar circumstances.

"To comprehend all," as the old French proverb puts it, "is to forgive all." On the other hand, failure to comprehend opens the way to sinister as well as romantic interpretations. We are very likely to attribute something sinister to conduct the motive for which we do not understand. In fact, it is only to the extent that we are able to enter imaginatively into the lives and experience of others that we regard them as human like ourselves.

One reason why our immigrant populations seem alien and different is because they are more self-conscious and reserved with us than they are with one another. On the other hand, they are self-conscious and reserved because they are alien and different. It is a vicious circle. The more marked the racial differences, the more intense is the racial self-consciousness, and the greater the *social distance* that separates the alien from the native peoples.

IN time, however, what was strange becomes familiar. We discover the same human motives and wishes reflected in the manners of other people of which we are conscious in ourselves. Conduct that formerly struck us as queer becomes familiar and intelligible. Faces once impenetrable become expressive and human.

The race problem turns out, then, in one of its aspects at least, to be a problem of communication. The barriers

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to communication are not differences of language and of culture merely, but more particularly of self-consciousness, race consciousness, and consciousness of kind; not physical distances merely, but social distances. Whenever representatives of different races meet and discover in one another—beneath the differences of race—sentiments, tastes, interests, and human qualities generally that they can understand and respect, racial barriers are undermined and eventually broken down. Personal relations and personal friendships are the great moral solvents. Under their influence all distinctions of class, of caste, and even of race, are dissolved into the general flux which we sometimes call democracy.

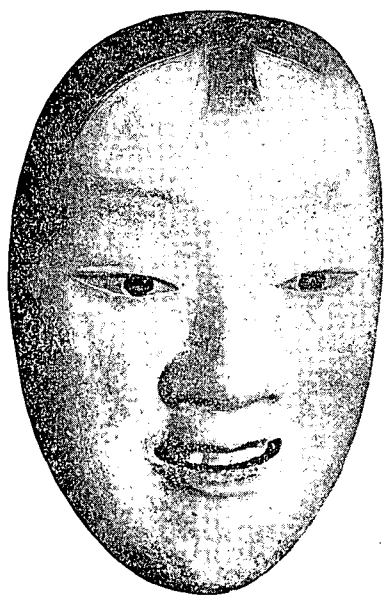
It was a minor statesman who said: "What is the Constitution between friends?" As the embodiment of a moral doctrine, this question, with its implications, is subject to grave qualifications, but as a statement of psychological fact it has to be reckoned with. What, between friends, are any of our conventions, moral codes, and political doctrines and institutions? It is personal friendships that corrupt politics. Not only politics, but all our formal and conventional relations are undermined by those elemental loyalties that have their roots in personal attachments. There is no way of preserving existing social barriers, except by preserving the existing animosities that buttress them.

We must reckon with the fact that for good or for ill, under the conditions of modern life, these personal friendships are steadily increasing. Trade, travel, literature, every form of communication, multiply them. Furthermore, our churches, missions, and Christian associations, among other agencies, are systematically seeking not only to increase but to institutionalize them. In their efforts to do this, they may create new prejudices, but at any rate they are undermining old ones. It is indeed in the very nature of the religious enterprise that it should run counter to every movement that seeks to stabilize society on the basis of race.

At the conclusion of the session of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu last summer, a member of the Japanese delegation summed up the results of that unique gathering in one casual but illuminating remark: "Well," he said, speaking for himself and for the Japanese delegation, "our attitudes have been profoundly changed, but our opinions remain the same." The discussions, and even more, perhaps, the intimate and friendly relations established, undeniably changed the sentiments, even though it did not change the program, of every member of the conference. A good deal of that sense of injury which has so frequently poisoned international and interracial relations evaporated during the progress of the discussions. Issues that had previously been maintained as matters of principle and of national honor passed over, in this friendly atmosphere, into the category of matters for negotiation. The Institute was described, in fact, as "an adventure in friendship."

THE purpose of the Race Relations Survey on the Pacific coast may be described in much the same terms. It has sought to gain a knowledge which will not so much change opinions as attitudes. It was not the purpose of the survey to crystallize opinion on either side of an issue, but rather to provide a context in which issues could be discussed in a friendlier spirit; create a situation in which the common, as over against sectarian, party, and racial interests, might receive a more deliberate and intelligent consideration. An impartial investigation of the facts, it seemed, would at least reduce the inflammation and purge the situation of some of its bitterness.

It has been necessary to review the facts and the issues, but our survey sought to go behind the opinions and the programs of parties and sects, to the sources of public opinion—the concrete experiences, the personal sentiments and private feelings of individual men, compared with which the forensic display of arguments and propaganda is, after all, a kind of masquerade. From the point of view of the Race Relations Survey, the situation on the Pacific coast is not so much a problem of politics, in the ordinary sense of that word, as a problem of behavior—*collective behavior*. It is in this sense, and with this purpose, that the Oriental number of The Survey has been conceived.



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We Said: "Let's Find the Facts"

And This Is What They Answered—First and Last—on the Coast

By J. MERLE DAVIS

This record of first encounters among representative groups on the Pacific coast when the Survey of Race Relations was suggested, and of the gradual shift of feeling among westerners who at the start questioned its value, is a significant footnote on the whole adventure in fact finding. Mr. Davis, a student of history who had lived in the Orient, was commissioned in 1923 by Galen M. Fisher, secretary of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, to make soundings; later he became administrative director of the survey which was made possible by the extensive collaboration of the coast universities. Tentative findings were reported in March, 1925; Professor Park is now preparing an interpretive volume.

THE Pacific Coast has taken sides on the oriental question so violently for decades that the proposal to study race relations there was to citizens of many sorts like a challenge to a fight.

In one of the largest interior cities in California, with a flourishing oriental quarter almost in its center, the city official received me with reluctance. At the first mention of "race relations" his face hardened and his mind closed like a steel trap. With a torrent of bitter words he told me his opinion of the relation of the whites to colored races and his scorn of men who attempted to meddle in those relations:

> The white race is ordained to rule. As soon as the colored races get the idea of equality or of mixing in their heads, social and racial balance is upset and anarchy begins. The man who tries to give these people any gleam of hope of changing their status is a public enemy and comparable to those long haired Boston reformers who have tried to educate the Nigger. Your survey plan is all bunk. California knows more in ten minutes how to handle these Japs than your Eastern folks will know in a thousand years. You had better tell your New York committee to forget it, and not mess into a situation that they know nothing about.

On the other hand, a mission board secretary with a generation of experience with Orientals was equally upset over the suggestion of an unbiased, thorough survey:

> How can you honestly say that you do not know the truth about these people? The facts regarding their unjust treatment on this coast are perfectly clear. When you propose a cold-blooded, scientific survey for finding the "real conditions," you compromise your honesty. Don't sit on the fence on moral issues of this kind. Your survey should publish its watchword, "Justice, truth and fairplay for the Oriental" and the data you will find should support it.

The middle ground on the oriental question proved, in part, to be as scarce as islands in the North Pacific ocean.

When in the winter of 1923 I reached the Pacific coast with the mandate in my pocket to sound public opinion on the subject of organizing a race relations survey, I found not only that the coast had already made up its mind about the question, but that distinct hostility was felt about what looked like eastern interference in a local problem.

A good many Californians said that the survey proposal looked like a huge "con game"—a "heads I lose, tails you win" policy for the coast. The Pacific slope had legislated the Oriental into just about the place it wanted him to occupy; why should it make a survey that might undo all this laborious work? Others thought they saw the long arm of the Japanese government, or that of the Federal Council of Churches, or quite likely both, closing in from East and West.

Nevertheless, 60 per cent of the 225 representative persons interviewed that winter, favored some form of investigation. Of these, 15 were pastors, 12 bankers, 22 business men, 9 Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. secretaries, 28 educators, 12 legionnaires, 31 farmers, 15 labor representatives, 11 women leaders, 9 officials, 11 lawyers, 7 social workers, 16 editors, 11 mission workers, 15 native sons, 6 doctors, 5 politicians. After the survey had been at work for six months 80 per cent of the original 225 were inclined to regard the survey favorably. Only half of those who originally had opposed the plan remained opposed.

It was soon apparent even to a newcomer on the Pacific coast what groups were pro and what groups were anti-oriental, and why this was so. The politician, the legionnaire, the native son, the working man, the small farmer, the shop keeper were usually against the Oriental, or, at least, opposed to the Japanese. On the other hand, the president of the chamber of commerce, the financier and banker, the importer and exporter, the absentee land-owner, the large rancher, the mission secretary and the church worker, the social worker and many school teachers and university professors were friendly to the Asiatic.

All of these people, it seemed to me, belonged to one of three groups, regardless of whether they were pro or anti. The first group consisted of those westerners who had come into close contact with the Oriental and who had some personal experience of him. The second was made up of those class or party groups which had established certain definite traditional policies in regard to the oriental question, while the third group was composed of those elements in western society (*Continued on page* 201)

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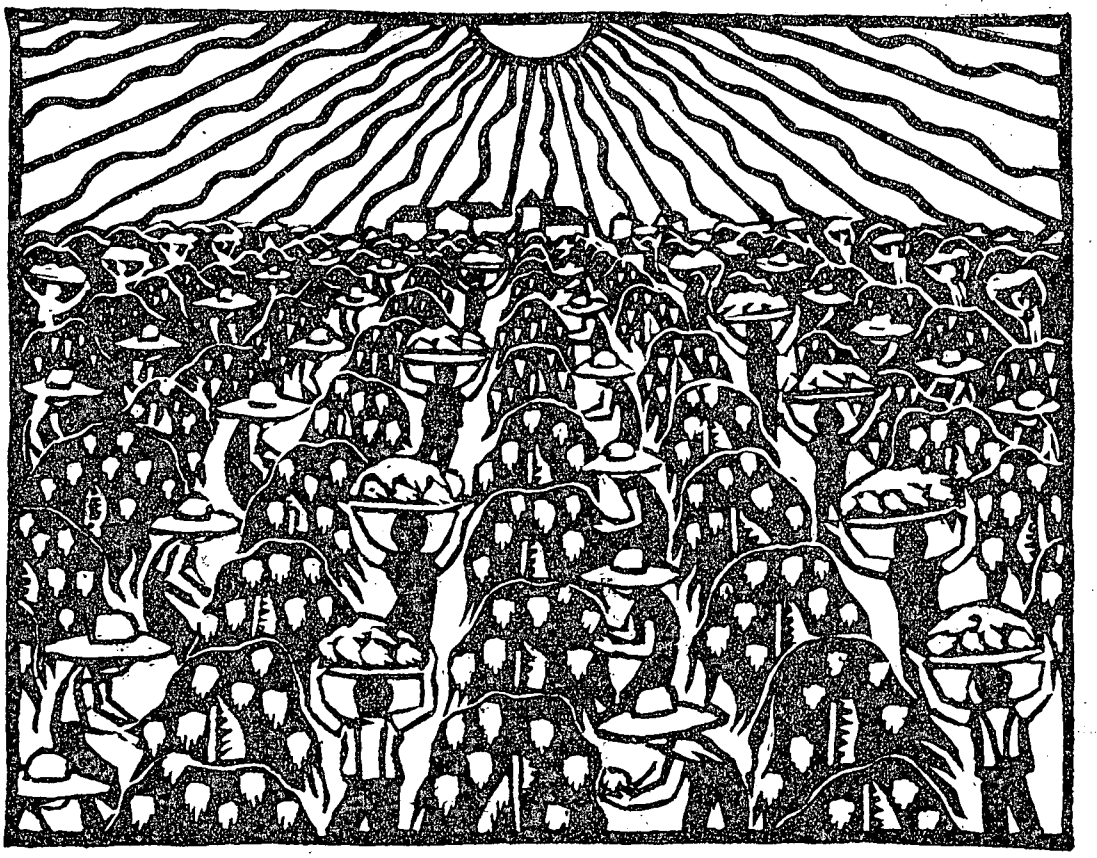

Grape harvest at Florin

Their Place in the Sun

Japanese Farmers Nine Years after the Land Laws

By WINIFRED RAUSHENBUSH

Linoleum Cuts by Margaret Schloemann

THE two most famous Japanese towns in California lie in what is practically desert country, for it is only in the desert that the Japanese could afford to settle (or were allowed to), and it is only here—where they are property owners rather than farm hands—that the California farmer considers them a problem.

California has such fragrance, such young buoyant beauty that the stranger surrenders to it even against his own volition, while the natives raise fervent and unashamed hymns to God commending Him for His thoughtfulness. But not all of the Golden State is beautiful; it is rather like a fruit with luscious flesh and a most bitter core. Through the center of California, between the Sierra Madre mountains and the coast range, runs a narrow tongue of land, where many men have fought the sand, the heat, and the lack of water, and where many have been vanquished. The survivors have cut the flat floor of the desert with their gleaming automobile roads and their irrigation ditches, but they have not thereby made it less ugly nor have they completely conquered it. Man is never very imposing in the desert, nor do his houses, his barns or his vineyards seem very substantial. The fruit-towns of the desert—and fruit is about the only crop that can be raised there—look a little like a stage set which any very strong wind could blow away, and this has actually happened ever so often. In spite of man's intrusion, the desert keeps its character. Whether men come or go, these three things remain; the tan plane of the earth, the immensity of air about one's head, and the red angry eye of the sun, glowering above the horizon.

OF these two most famous Japanese towns, Florin and Livingston, Florin is the more notorious and the less favored by God. Its notoriety it owes to the fact that it was one of the first towns where the Japanese bought land and that seven-eighths of the population in the surrounding district are Japanese, coupled with the fact that it is only two hours away from the state capital, and so within easy reach of the anti-oriental politician. God has done only

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one thing for the people of Florin: He has made the sun very hot. As the bus swings past a big blue sign on the road to Florin, the heat rises up like a wall, the rubber tires smell scorched and the passengers gasp. It is because Florin lies in one of the worst heat belts of California, however, that the Tokay grape reddens and ripens there a little earlier than anywhere else in the state, and it is this few days jump on the market that makes it possible for Florin to survive at all. During the first half of the picking season, the fields are crowded with Japanese farm-hands and American fruit tramps who lay the great fuzzy bunches delicately on trays and carry the trays to the packing sheds; during the last half of the season the fruit is allowed to rot on the vines. For hours after they have been picked, the red Tokays from Florin's vineyards still convey to the hand the tingle of the violent sun which is in their flesh.

Florin has only one Main street and only a few hundred inhabitants, yet it is very famous. It is the Hawaii of America; it is supposed to be the town Wallace Irwin writes about in his novel, The Seed of the Sun; it is the "I guess we can raise our own strawberries" town.

Ever since 1905, when the Japanese question first began to trouble the dreams of the native son, investigators have poured into Florin. They arrive every other season, and when they come, the only white storekeeper in town takes a day off to show them the sights. Mostly it is the anti-Orientalists who go to Florin, but Mr. Bryan went there too, receiving wisdom from the storekeeper. For the unforgettable fact about Florin to the Californian mind is that in this town only one-eighth of the people are white.

How did the Japanese come into possession of Florin?

They were not the first wing of the oriental invasion; the Chinese preceded them. The Chinese came in 1851 as farm laborers; they lived in their own Chinatowns and disturbed no one. In 1894, the Japanese appeared, underbid the Chinese and the Celestials retreated cityward. It was the Chinese who introduced the raising of strawberries instead of those standard back east crops—wheat and hogs—and it was an English carpenter who discovered that grapes would grow on Florin's shallow hardpan land. It has never been white labor, however, that has nursed the strawberry and the grape vine in this district; it has always been oriental labor.

There are many tales told about Florin. V. S. McClatchy, the most distinguished anti-oriental publicist on the coast, and a former owner of the Sacramento Bee, says he can recall the time when a woman in a sulky used to drive around between the ten and fifteen acre strawberry patches of the white farmers of Florin delivering copies of the Sacramento Bee, until such time as the Japanese had displaced the Americans and there was not a subscriber left. Wallace Irwin in The Seed of the Sun has it that the purchase of white lands was financed by an agent of the Mikado and that the earnest desire of the Japanese farmers was to assimilate rapidly by marrying American women. The most anti-Japanese farmer in Florin, a man who has lived in Florin for seventy-four years, is sure, however, that the Japanese have never driven away a single white man.

"I don't see why Japanese shouldn't be allowed to farm this kind of land," he said. "Certainly no American wants to do it, and the Japanese children don't want to do it either. The Japanese children all go to school and everybody knows what that leads to. The kind of people we want to work this land are the uneducated classes."

In spite of the suppositions of the anti-Orientalists, the white farmers of Florin are not afraid of being driven off the land by the Japanese. The Americans and the Japanese have by this time lived together in Florin for thirty-two years but the only relations between them are business relations. During all this time, these two racial groups have shared no common enterprise and during the last six years their contacts, instead of increasing, have become even more restricted than before. In 1920 the Florin Fruit Growers' Association, a cooperative marketing organization, which handles 60 per cent of the fruit in the Florin district, barred further Japanese from membership because the white members were afraid that ultimately the Japanese would propose one of their race for the board of directors. In 1921 the citizens of Florin, finding that the work of the American children was being retarded, decided to build two school houses and segregate the Japanese. Florin proves, certainly, that while it is possible to put two races like two chemicals into the same test-tube, they will not necessarily mix.

SO separate are the lives of the two races that the Americans are not even aware that the Japanese of Florin have a race problem of their own—a problem which irritates them more than a little and which has caused much bad blood in the community.

One of the few American friends whom the Japanese have in Florin is a music teacher, a very capable woman, whose favorite pupil is a Japanese girl named Rosalind. Rosalind is twenty, a girl with slow grave eyes, much warmth, and a remarkably low and lovely voice. "Rose shows up better than any other pupil I ever had at recitals," this woman averred, "but it makes you sad to watch her. She doesn't seem to belong anywhere, neither with the Americans nor the Japanese. When the Japanese girl next door got married, I said to Rose: 'I suppose some day soon your father will be packing you off to Los Angeles or somewhere after he has selected a suitor for you.' Rose stamped her foot: 'I won't let him do that,' she said, 'I don't want to get married; I want to be a music teacher.'

"Another time I found Rose sitting on the piano stool in my parlor at eleven o'clock in the morning. 'What are you doing here?' I asked. 'I didn't expect you until three.' She explained that her father wanted her to work in the vineyard, and she wouldn't. Recently she's been working for a doctor's wife in Perkins to earn money for her music lessons; the woman says she's neat as wax too."

The same thing that happens at recitals happens to Rosalind in the Buddhist and Christian churches: the girls shun her. This is not quite so true of the boys. The American-born Japanese in Florin have an organization which they call the Japanese American Loyalty League. Rosalind is the only girl member—and the president. The other Japanese girls never played with the Japanese boys when they were in school and they certainly do not think it decent to belong to the same society with a lot of young men. Feeling that she had made herself too conspicuous, Rosalind once tried to withdraw both from the presidency and from the society, but the boys told her: "If you won't be president, we'll just give up having a society," so she stayed. Nevertheless even the boys have no relations with Rosalind outside of the Japanese American Loyalty League. "I know who she is," said one boy who had helped elect her to the presidency, "but I don't know her."

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Rosalind thinks that the reason she has so few friends is because most of the girls are younger, and because she is such an out-and-out feminist. The real reason for the ostracism that surrounds and puzzles this girl is that she belongs to a lower caste group, and that neither her parents nor the Japanese will tell her so. "Rosalind probably belongs to an Eta family," said one of the older Japanese, "but of course she must never know that. It would be too great a disgrace."

The Eta class affords the modern Japanese novelist one of his most effective themes. A writer named Encho, for instance, has excellently adapted the plot of Wilkie Collins' New Magdalen to the Japanese life of the present by substituting for the courtesan of the English original a girl who had degraded herself by marrying an Eta. The origin of the Eta is still obscure; some regard them as descendants of Korean captives, others as the illegitimate offspring of the celebrated generalissimo Yorimoto, while one authority believes that they became a separate class with the introduction of Buddhism in the seventh or eighth century. In 1871 the legal distinctions affecting the Eta, the Bantaro and the Kawara-mono, all lower castes, were abolished, but the prejudice against the Eta has remained. Most of them have remained in Japan, where they contribute their quota to the radical wing of the Japanese labor movement, but a considerable number have left Japan hoping to find in other countries some escape from their hereditary position of inferiority.

There are more Etas in proportion to the total population in Hawaii than in Japan, and there are more Etas proportionately in Florin than in Hawaii. Out of a population of one thousand Japanese in the Florin district, at least one hundred are of Eta origin. At first, when the colony was young, there were a number of marriages between Eta men and Japanese women, for there is no discernible physical difference between the two people. These marriages are now regarded by the Japanese, however, as a great source of shame, and the attempt of the Eta to lose their identity in a foreign country has proved a failure.

Because of this failure of the Eta to be accepted in Florin, Rosalind's father, a tiny cricket-like creature with alert peering eyes, has worked himself to the bone to send his two sons not only to college but to the universities as well. For if there is no escape for an Eta farmer in the Pacific villages, there may still be an escape for a professional man in the coast cities. Rosalind however is a girl; he feels that he has done enough for her by sending her through high school and that it is now time she were married.

THE presence of the Etas has played no small part in the feud between the Christians and the Buddhists which has torn Japanese Florin wide open. It is almost to be expected that such a feud would occur in this town, for where people can find nothing constructive to do to improve their situation, such internal dissensions are a great prop to the individual's sense of importance. But the Florin feud has a greater significance than this. A Christian Japanese minister in Sacramento said that the anti-alien land laws and the Japanese Exclusion Act had actually had the effect with many Japanese not of making them turn to Japan, as the Americans had perhaps expected, but of making them turn to America. Being faced with the Exclusion Act, they realized for the first time how much they wanted to stay and how little the Japanese immigrants who had returned to Japan were satisfied with the cramped style of the Fatherland. Consequently they girded up their loins and tried to improve their relations with the Americans and their status in America. These laws affected the Japanese of Florin very differently, it appears, than the city Japanese of Sacramento. The Florin Japanese had walked the path of sullenness and frustration too long to be braced by any further bitterness, and so the Buddhist party, which favored Japanization, waxed strong, while the Christian group, who favored Americanization, grew weak.

The first break in the community occurred in 1919, when the Christians discovered that a number of Japanese children had failed to pass in the public school, because their English was not adequate, and had voted to give up the Japanese language classes held in connection with the Christian church. This action was wholly in line with the point of view of the Christian Japanese, 95 per cent of whom are landholders who want their children to grow up as American citizens. The Buddhist party, under the leadership of an ex-Christian storekeeper, then rallied together and built a magnificent Buddhist temple with a gilded dome and a bright green square of lawn, which quite dwarfs the small gray Christian church which stands beside it. Japanese classes were opened by the Buddhists and the Japanese children left the Christian Sunday School en masse.

Not until 1924, however, did this break assume the stature of a feud. The Buddhist war cry was: "This time the Buddhists have got to beat the Christians," and they did. For the first time in the history of the colony a Buddhist was elected as secretary of the Japanese Association, the highest office which the town has to offer. The Christian party, however, retorted that the Buddhists would get no fame by this, because they had won the election by excluding the town of Perkins (where there were many Christians and many Eta) from the voting list. Undoubtedly the Buddhists used the presence of the lower caste Eta as an excuse for this gerrymander.

IT is the general belief among the Americans of Florin that even the Japanese farmers who own land in the township would be willing to sell at any time and clear out. This belief is in part borne out by the attitudes of two leaders in the Japanese community, one a Christian and the other a Buddhist. The Christian, who is a large landholder and present secretary of the Japanese Association, is planning to return to Japan, but to leave his children here to be educated. Almost without exception the Japanese children of Florin who have been taken on visits to Japan have taken a violent dislike to that country and are emphatic about their desire to stay in the United States. The Buddhist, who owns one of the eight Japanese stores on Florin's Main street, intends to return to Japan as soon as he has paid the debts he incurred when his first store burned down. This man's son, who has been educated in eastern universities, stopped off at Florin recently on his way to Japan, where he is going to fill a position offered him by the Japanese government. While he was at home, he pleaded with his father to return to the Christian faith, but the father, who is the chief promoter of the Buddhist church in Florin, and an ex-Christian, refused. He declared that his experience of Christianity after his arrival in the United States had left him with no illusions about that religion or about the people who subscribed to it.

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Florin has unfortunately acquired a bad name. This is due in part to the accident of its being so near to the state capital; it is due in part to an ignorant tactlessness. It should be the first rule in the book of etiquette on race relations that the foreigner should never become the major element in the population, unless he is a slave; in fact, unless the foreigner remains a very small element in the population there is inevitable friction and alarm. The Japanese of Florin not only outnumber the Americans: they have also taken possession of the one Main street. Of its eight stores, seven are Japanese and only one is American. Even if the rest of the Americans have gotten used to this situation, the one white storekeeper has not: he hates the Japanese and makes no bones about it.

Such is the life of the Japanese in Florin and in many other small towns up and down the coast, where the indifference and dislike of the Americans, the feud between the Buddhists and the Christians—those who would be Americans and those who would not—duplicates itself. Looking at Florin either broadly or microscopically, one could agree with the anti-Orientalist that race contact has not been a success.

BEFORE drawing any such pointed conclusion, however, it would be necessary to visit Livingston, a town as famous in the annals of pro-Oriental literature as Florin is in anti-Oriental literature. Livingston, a few counties to the south of Florin, is also pitched against the blaring light of the desert. But while Florin is a one-Main-street town, Livingston is a two-Main-street town and wears a certain air of prosperity which is lacking in Florin. Because it is a very new town, perhaps, it looks like a place where all the good ads have gone home; the main street is wide enough for a chariot race, the buildings are white as alabaster and the flappers are as boyish as the mode. Moreover there is a kindly frontier spirit which still affects the manners of the inhabitants. They are not exceptional people, the Americans of Livingston; but they work hard, dress well, and have a live-and-let-live attitude toward everyone. The physical difference between Florin and Livingston is a difference in land. The land around Livingston is supposed to be as cheap as any land that can be bought in California, but hard as it is to farm, it cannot compare with the resistance offered by the hardpan land of Florin.

The general attitude of Livingston toward its Japanese farmers was well expressed by the owner of a pool room. "The Japanese are all right," he said, "only we don't want any more." In Livingston the balance between the Japanese and the Americans is just the reverse of what it is in Florin; seven-eighths of the population is American and one-eighth is Japanese. Moreover the Japanese have not made themselves offensive by being different: they do not have their women work in the fields, the men wear made-to-order tailored clothes and instead of flaunting the dome of a Buddhist temple against the California sky, the community is almost solidly Christian.

In Livingston almost everything that the anti-Orientalist would consider impossible has occurred. The Japanese and the Americans are living in the same town, and instead of slipping past each other like oil and water, they have mixed. It takes a microscopic eye to see at what point short of intermarriage and membership in the Klan they have not mixed. While in Florin the Japanese have been excluded from the Fruit Growers' Association, in Livingston, the secretary of the cooperative marketing association to which both races belong is a Japanese. In Florin the children do not share the same class rooms; in Livingston grown boys and girls go on camping trips together with American chaperons. The Japanese hold 20 per cent of the stock in the local bank, they are asked to address meetings of the Merchants Association and the Boosters Club, and they play in the town band.

HOW has the impossible occurred? The answer, strangely enough, is through intelligence. While Florin has the usual number of families—to be found in almost any community—who are morons or less, Livingston has had the fortune, rare enough in an immigrant farming community, to have possessed several men of more than ordinary imagination and energy. Two of these are a professor of agriculture who owns one of the best almond orchards in the state, and an ex-garment worker whose family belonged to the samurai class of Japan. Some of the early pioneers have died off, but these two leaders are still watching over the affairs of the colony.

The first bit of cool intelligence which the Japanese displayed was when they evolved the policy of letting the Americans run Main street. Whereas Florin has eight Japanese stores and one American store, the Japanese in Livingston have from the beginning stuck to farming, with the result that the storekeepers became and have remained their friends.

The second thing they have done is to help finance Livingston, which in 1907 consisted of a store, a saloon and a railroad station. Town subscriptions, whether for street improvements or for the baseball team, are always oversubscribed by the Japanese. "This is only just," one Japanese farmer remarked, "because we cannot do anything for the Americans socially."

There are other western towns where the relations between the Japanese and the Americans are similar to those that obtain at Livingston. But usually in these towns, a fortunate combination of circumstances rather than any conscious intention has given the Japanese a sense of security. Livingston is really a laboratory experiment in race relations: as intelligent an experiment as has been made anywhere in the world, and, comparatively speaking, a very successful one. Yet the colony was not founded with this intention. It was the hard years which the first seventeen pioneers put in praying, irrigating the land, and shooting jack rabbits, that solidified the spirit of the colony into something substantial and purposeful. There was more than intelligence behind it; there was old-fashioned Methodist religion and patriotic ardor. The Livingston spirit, which came to mean something definite to these pioneers, means something definite even to the Japanese who have come more recently.

When the Japanese in Livingston have a slack season between crops, they and their wives take a morning off to discuss theology. They are not divided between a Christian and a Buddhist party, as so many Japanese colonies are, because almost the entire colony is Christian. The conversions that some of these pioneers remember are more significant than the usual American conversion, for they involved sloughing off one's Japanese self so that one's American self might survive. "One of my friends," said a member of the colony, "told me afterward that he had

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spent three nights on the beach of Golden Gate Park in San Francisco struggling with himself and with God. All night he was on his knees praying. When the light finally came to him, great tears of joy rained down his cheeks." Even the patriotism of Livingston in later days was apt to have a religious coloring. A Japanese named Masu Chiba, writing to the Livingston Chronicle, said in one of his communications: "Ah the Livingston! Is it not a little village of Bethlehem, is it not indeed the big stone of Galilee, upon which the foundation of all our expectations must rest?"

THE experiment at Livingston, in which the Japanese conceived that they were testing out the possibility of good relations between the two races, has of course met with resistances and rebuffs, the most notable of which was the anti-Japanese demonstration of 1920.

During the fall of 1919 and the winter of 1920, the owner and editor of the Livingston Chronicle, who has been and is one of the stanch friends of the Japanese, noticed that a good deal of land had been deeded to Japanese on the west side of the railroad track, which had hitherto been a sort of dividing line. On January 16, he published an editorial in the Chronicle, in which he said:

> Should we in Livingston continue our passivity in this matter the day will come when Livingston will be no more a Caucasian community than is Penryn or Florin or Brawley. We of Livingston cannot justify our passive attitude on the basis of Christianity or anything else. This is not a theoretical problem. It is a proven fact. We do not want the Japanization of Livingston to continue. We cannot afford to have it continue.

The American citizens held a meeting in response to the editor's appeal and the next afternoon a bunch of them went over to the lumber mill and told old man Swann to give them some lumber so they could make a sign—"No More Japs Wanted Here." Old man Swann was bewildered. "If I was the owner of this mill, you'd never git it," he told them. Two signs were put up, however, one on either side of the railroad track, and there they stayed for several months. When the Board of Trade and the Farm Bureau had finally decided that for the sake of Livingston's reputation they ought to come down, a visiting minister told the Livingstonians how un-Christian they were to treat the Japanese this way. So the Board of Trade and the Farm Bureau voted to leave the signs up a little longer.

This rebuff on the part of the Americans called forth a great deal of comment in the California press, but it affected the relations of the two races living in Livingston very little. The Japanese themselves felt, aghast as they were at first, that they did not want the colony any larger.

IT would be difficult for an American to overestimate the efforts which the Japanese made, especially during the early years of the colony's existence, to make themselves intelligible to the Americans and to overcome American dislike. One of the leaders of the colony, a Christian, attended a Sunday morning service in an American church shortly after his arrival. As he walked down the aisle at the close of the service, an American drew away from him with an unmistakeable look. The next day the Japanese, who had been a college professor in Japan, went to the American's house. The American opened the door, saw the Japanese standing there, and slammed the door in his face. Later, the two men became friends, the American explaining that a newspaper story he had read had been responsible for his initial repulsion. Three years ago, when the Japanese realized that most of their children were attending the Sunday School of one of the American churches, they went to the deacons of the church and asked them whether they really wanted the Japanese children. The deacons debated the matter; they were not quite sure how they did feel about it and the minister himself, an Englishman, confessed to having a distinct distaste for acquiring a Japanese congregation. The church finally voted, however, to welcome the Japanese children to the Sunday School, as they felt it would be un-Christian to exclude them.

A Japanese homestead at Livingston

The Livingston experiment has been to the men who are absorbed in it a painful and arduous task. Its success, they realize, will be measured not so much by the place they have been able to win in the town of their adoption, as by the status which their children will have not only there but elsewhere in the United States.

None of these Japanese fathers and mothers expect their children to be Americans. They accept the fact that they are hybrids who must all their lives carry the burden of being Americans by birth and Japanese by blood. A very surprising number of these parents hope and expect that their children will be Messiahs and Joans who will devote their lives to solving the problems which have arisen between the Japanese and the American people. Only one Japanese father has had other ideas.

"I have observed among my friends," he said, "these children who have American manners and Japanese manners, an American mind and a Japanese mind, and it seems to me that I noticed that their American manners were never really smooth and that people who have two minds are not planted firmly on the ground. They sway first to one side and then to the other with the wind. So I have brought up my children to be Americans and nothing else, and I am entirely satisfied with the result."

The colony has watched the progress of this man's oldest daughter with the most intense interest, especially as she was the oldest child in the colony. When she returned home from college, she (*Continued on page* 203)

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The Land, the Crops and the Oriental

A Study of Race Relations in Terms of the Map

By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS

"THE Chinese must go," the slogan of the late 'seventies and early 'eighties, has a definite geographic significance. "No Japanese wanted here," appearing on a large sign stretched across a state highway in the interior, has no meaning outside of the small town which includes among its inhabitants many Japanese who know when they are well off. Racial antipathies are registered locally, usually because certain experiences have occurred there. A knowledge of geography is the national starting point of any scientific inquiry—if by geography one means the relation of man to his environment: human and place geography. Applied to racial issues and in this instance to the oriental agitation in California, a broad description of regional geography gives us the leading clues to the economic interests and expressed public opinion of different communities.

California is largely uninhabited. Great stretches of desert and forests afford little opportunity for a livelihood. Of the one hundred million acres of land area, there are twenty-three million acres of timber. Less than a third of the total territory can be classified as farm land, and of these thirty million acres, only a little over a third (or eleven million) is improved. Aside from the cities of San Francisco, Los Angeles and San Diego, the bulk of the population is scattered throughout this farming section to include roughly the rice fields to the north, the Sierra foothills, the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, Los Angeles and the contiguous countries, and Imperial Valley. The Orientals, who number approximately 3 per cent of the total population, are in general similarly distributed over the state with the exception, however, that the Chinese have now settled largely in a few city Chinatowns, the Hindus have left the rice fields near Colusa and Willows to join their few kinsmen in the Imperial Valley, while the Japanese have been largely farm tenants and laborers.

The maps showing oriental distribution give a correct picture of the situation as it was before the anti-alien land laws came into play. These barred aliens ineligible to citizenship from owning or leasing, either on a crop share or cash basis, any real property used for agricultural purposes. To bring the situation up-to-date, therefore, the reader should visualize a steady migration of Japanese southward with the city and county of Los Angeles as their American concentration-point. There is little change to record for the Chinese, already city-entrenched, or the East Indians who, like many Japanese, and frequently with the connivance of property owners, continue their operations in defiance of the spirit of the Land Acts.

It is the lack of water that is the great barrier to an unlimited development of state resources. While only about a third of the improved land is irrigated thus far, irrigation in this semi-arid climate is usually a necessity or at least a valuable adjunct; the best lands, moreover, are nearly all irrigated. Nearly all the oriental farmers are in these irrigated lands, in 1919 they occupied nearly one-sixth of the total, as follows: 534,808 acres held by lease or crop contract, 88,944 acres owned in fee or under contract of purchase, altogether 623,752 acres.

It is entirely true that the Japanese struggled magnificently in the Delta and the Imperial Valley, at a cost of hundreds of lives and often money losses as well, so that many tracts that would otherwise have lain idle are now reclaimed. Credit is due them for this achievement. Yet this proven display of initiative and perseverance became a boomerang in the hands of the aggressive exclusionists: the charge cannot be denied that the Japanese wisely devoted their labors to the richest regions—actually or potentially—of the wealthiest agricultural state in the Union. Social as well as economic conditions, heralded in a hostile press and by politicians, carried the agitation at once to a wider sphere than the particular neighborhood affected.

Nor can climate be overlooked in an effort to understand the racial pattern. The tremendous diversity of California makes many sections dubious habitations for a white man. For example, the terrific summer heat in the Imperial and Coachella valleys, far below sea level, makes all-the-year-round living difficult for a native American male and all but impossible for an American woman. In Imperial, the male conquerors of the desert became acclimated, but the wives have "gone West." Apparently Orientals, both men and women, can stand these trying hot periods which may last three or four months, yet records are inadequate to prove the case. Many people believe that the Japanese, Filipinos and Mexicans cannot withstand cold, while Chinese alone seem to be able to thrive on any climate.

Wherever the climate is unusually trying, there is a marked trend towards large farms and commercial

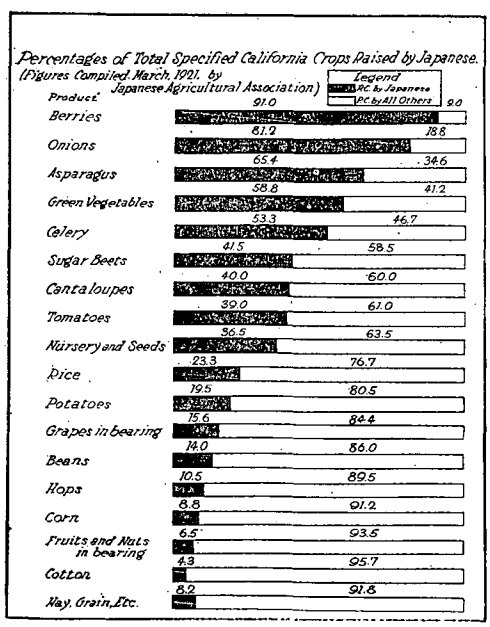

Chart prepared by Survey of Race Relations

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agriculture, largely of the one crop type. The combination introduces those two great divisions of our population, so well described by Professor H. P. Fairchild as "the propertyless class, which cannot make a living except by selling its labor to somebody else, and the propertied class, which makes a living and something more by buying labor to be applied to its capital and its land." Thus, in the great Delta lands and other trying agricultural areas, there is a continual demand for cheap labor accustomed or willing to the minimum living accommodations and the simplest needs and wants. In the Delta peat lands, Orientals perform this labor; in the Imperial Valley Mexicans have largely displaced the Japanese because they have fewer dependent upon them for support, they are far more loosely organized, and they are not ambitious to rise as rapidly as possible from laborer to tenant to owner. The special factors which affect the position of Orientals in some of the principal agricultural areas of the state are noted in the boxes on the following pages.

Climate has another direct effect on the economic competition between Americans and Asiatics because in many sections of the state, land is valued not for what can be secured as income from products of the soil, but rather for its residence advantages. The marvelous productivity of the state is apparent by contrasting the 1919 average of $70 per acre for American farms and $105 per acre for California; but more striking still, according to the Fourteenth Census, one half of the California farms (in contrast with the farm acreage) exceeded $500 an acre in value. In California, high rentals mean alien labor, tenancy, and slower attainment of ownership. When one realizes that the Oriental pays a higher rental than a non-Oriental can afford, it is clear why the land proprietor views with alarm the prospect of their passing, and has no special incentive to subdivide his holdings.

But with the Japanese rapidly increasing their numbers in the very fertile lands, frequently situated in the best residential sections, and with the natural law that land tends to fall under the control of the most productive laboring element providing they are industrious and ambitious—as the Japanese certainly are—tenancy takes on an especially important aspect. In California, according to a careful study by The Commonwealth Club of California, we learn that special features of this situation are these:

(1) The less assimilable the tenant class, the greater is the objection raised.

(2) Tenancy is generally beneficial economically, especially so when it makes productive lands not likely to be farmed otherwise.

(3) Wherever tenancy is concentrated, foreigners outnumber Americans.

(4) Tenants are classified by types of farming.

(5) For most nationalities, tenancy is not a stepping stone to ownership because of high-priced lands, short length of tenure, and relatively small returns.

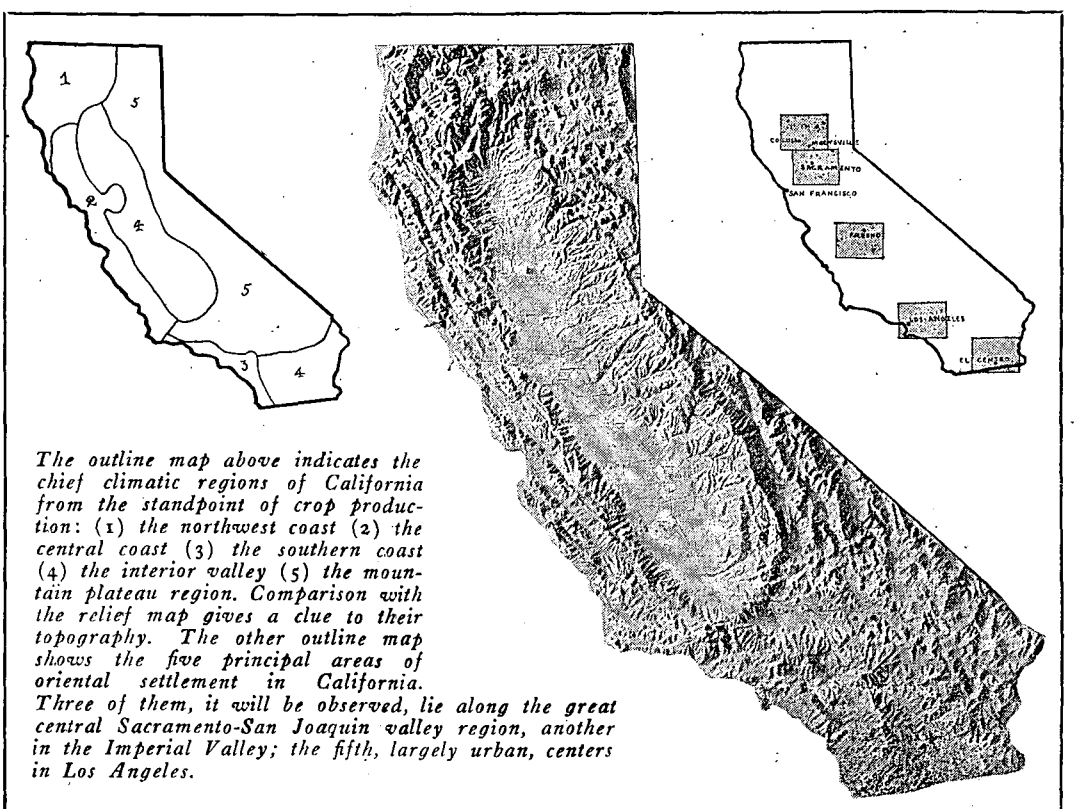
(6) Exhausting the fertility of the soil under tenancy is due mainly to short tenure, and no race is more culpable than any other.

(7) A tenancy figure of 21.4 per cent over the entire state is surprisingly low.

(8) In general, the advantage of tenancy is largely financial—the disadvantage, social. One's interest, therefore, determines one's judgment.

The climatic zones shown approximately in the accompanying map suggest some of the anomalies in the agricultural and racial picture, but by no means all, for a radius of a few miles results in unbelievable differences of temperature and rainfall. Because of freedom from frost, the first citrus fruit comes from the Sacramento valley. The picking season of pears, raisins and cotton is less than four weeks; yet, in addition, an all-the-year-round climate causes a great variety of crops, so that an unusual number of migrant workers working from one end of the state to the other on a fairly regular schedule are needed. To supply this mobile labor, largely of an unskilled character, ranchers prefer to deal with racial contractors who can funish their needs promptly and satisfactorily. Only the old Chinese and the present Japanese and East Indians are organized to supply these temporary crews; thus it is that when a white laborer is honestly out of work, it is because of his serious disadvantage in meeting these employment conditions.

Yet it is fair to say, by way of generalization in California, that the Asiatic is a dependable, careful worker, the native



The outline map above indicates the chief climatic regions of California from the standpoint of crop production: (1) the northwest coast (2) the central coast (3) the southern coast (4) the interior valley (5) the mountain plateau region. Comparison with the relief map gives a clue to their topography. The other outline map shows the five principal areas of oriental settlement in California. Three of them, it will be observed, lie along the great central Sacramento-San Joaquin valley region, another in the Imperial Valley; the fifth, largely urban, centers in Los Angeles.

Climatic region map after original published by California State College of Agriculture. Oriental settlement map after original published by California State Board of Control. Relief map by N. F. Drake, Stanford University.

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American is unwilling to do farm work, the naturalized American is half-way between the two, and the second-generation of every race ceases to be available for raising the nation's food. The general manager of the largest shipper of deciduous fruits on the Pacific coast has employed Chinese laborers for twenty-four years and declares he has yet to find grounds for any complaint against them. In speaking of his experiences with Chinese he says:

Under contract an Oriental will stick the job out until the end, whereas the kind of white labor that is available will not do this. As one man remarked regarding his white labor, "I have three crews all the time. One working, one coming, and one going." The only valuable white labor is the man with a family and the grower cannot afford to keep him on the job the year around. This type of labor wants to settle down and send his children to school, rather than migrate like the Oriental.

A physician recently stated publicly:

In addition to being a city dweller, I have been foolish enough to be a farmer. I have had many sad experiences up there. We had twenty-two men engaged one Saturday to go to work the following Monday to take care of the trees; four showed up. Another time we had eight men employed to clean ditches; only two showed up. In old days we used to pay them $1.25 a day, while now we pay them $4.00 and $4.50 a day, and we cannot rely upon them. We cannot get our work done on the farms, and since the restriction of any immigration we find it far more difficult than ever. If we want to eat, we must have people develop our farms. Our Americans will not do this work, but the foreigners will. You cannot rely on an American laborer to come and do your farm work, but you can if you get a decent Jap. I hold no brief for the Jap, but I want to say this: If we want to eat, we should allow in a certain amount of immigration.

Sacramento Valley—Rice

RICE is the outstanding agricultural product around Colusa and Willows, in the heart of the vast Sacramento Valley. The status of the Oriental has been predominantly connected with its culture here as in such other rice-growing communities as Biggs, Butte City, and Sutter City.

With the beginnings of the rice industry a few Japanese were employed to do the sowing and irrigating, because it was generally conceded that this type of work was not a white man's job. Soon these Japanese, assisted by adequate financial connections, undertook to grow rice for themselves. Their number grew considerably, but at the same time the number of white people similarly engaged increased in proportion. It is generally believed that Orientals produce the great bulk of the California rice, but at no time have the Japanese handled over a third of the total acreage devoted to rice culture. A considerable number of Koreans and Hindus, as well as a few Chinese, have been employed by white growers in the rice fields, but these have worked for wages rather than for themselves.

The Japanese have always considered themselves above working as laborers in the rice fields, unless they had an interest in the crop yield. The old type of Chinese, never very numerous, and the Koreans, whose number has decreased to practically nothing, have always been liked in the rice-growing districts. The Hindus have been generally disliked although as laborers they are considered fairly satisfactory.

In the rice-growing districts a great many bankers, land-owners, and merchants are still suffering from the losses entailed in 1920, when credit was extended to anyone who even entertained the idea of planting rice. (Throughout California, Orientals have been generally considered better risks than anyone else and they have secured funds more readily). When heavy rains caught the rice crop before it was harvested, a great loss was inevitable. That happened in 1920. The greatest blow, to those who had extended credit, came when the bulk of the Hindus simply changed their names and ignored any responsibility for their indebtedness.

The Japanese who have been engaged in growing rice are more generally liked. No one can deny their thrift and willingness to work; and, as a race, they are ambitious. However, they have been condemned by one official of the Rice Growers Association of California because they fail to grow as good a grade of rice as is grown by white producers, because their production costs run from 10 to 20 per cent higher; and because they undersell the market price, thus thwarting any plans of the association to maintain a decent and remunerative price.

The rice industry has come to be recognized as a white man's job after all. Public opinion towards the Oriental, therefore, is less favorable than in other regions where they are more of an economic necessity.

Other Valley Crops

THE northern extremity of the Sacramento Valley has not been developed to any marked degree, because of a lack of people to work the land. The business men and land-owners of this district are crying for a large supply of cheap labor. The oriental population of Tehama County has never been very great; and at the present time it is negligible, but those Orientals who have been there (mostly Japanese and Chinese) have been liked. This is perhaps natural because the early development of the district was, for the most part, dependent upon oriental labor. The people of Tehama County would probably welcome a more lenient immigration policy so they could obtain a supply of cheap labor with which to clear their land and place the entire county under cultivation.

The most pronounced public opinion in the state against Orientals appears to be centered at Sacramento. The reasons are historical traditions which played up the worst features of the Chinese, the present large segregated communities, and the powerful influence in the past of the Sacramento Bee with its bitter news stories and editorials. The circulation of this daily, which covers a large rural area, has a direct effect upon local opinion in outlying regions as well as in the capital city itself.

An entirely different situation exists in the lower valley, in the vineyard country around Fresno. There other foreign colonies are large, especially Armenians from Turkey and Russo-Germans from the shores of the Black Sea. Local feeling against the Armenian is most marked. The Japanese, on the other hand, are held in high esteem. Since fresh grapes and raisins are the chief support of this rich country, local racial experiences can scarcely be overestimated. The Fresno Japanese are said to be of a better class than those about Sacramento, but in any case they are well liked on their own merits. The presence of other foreign peoples, of an aggressive type, is a further factor in making the Japanese better regarded there than probably anywhere else in California.

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What is the best labor California has enjoyed? A state census would impartially give first place to the Chinese. Read this wartime utterance by a leading San Franciscan:

Why is it the Chinese are not brought in to fill the vacuum, if there be a vacuum? The answer to it is this: That some forty years ago a man named Denis Kearney started a slogan, "The Chinese must go," and on that slogan men have acted for more than thirty years. If we want to raise the same slogan, why, there is no use of talking about Chinese labor. But meanwhile we have been getting Mexicans. I know a good deal about that labor, and no ten of them are worth one good John Chinaman.

The general manager of a large fruit distributing firm, referring to the Japanese, says that they are

the most industrious people you ever saw. They can make money in a place where a white man would starve to death, because they generally have large families, and their wives and all the children go into the fields and work.

Here is a leading reason for the pronounced feeling against the Japanese (in contrast with the Chinese who do not try to ascend the social ladder or attempt to compete with the American tenant farmer). "The original Japanese coming to California undoubtedly was the best class of labor that ever reached America. He was obedient, energetic, careful to the minutest detail," admits a leading Chamber of Commerce in an adverse report on the Orientals, adding, "If he could have been kept as a laborer, it would have been of great benefit to California."

The agricultural products of California since the war have been valued at half a billion dollars—and another quarter of a billion dollars of value should be added for their local manufacture. The local farm products raised by Japanese increased from $6,000,000 in 1909 to $67,000,000 in 1919; the Japanese yielding the largest amount in the case of green vegetables, fruits and nuts, grapes, potatoes, rice, and berries. It is noteworthy that they have a monopoly of that labor which involves squatting, hard work, (*Continued on page* 203)

Placer County—Fruit

PLACER County fruit growers have always been very partial to Orientals: land values are high, skilled tenantry is necessary, and the production of a large number of varieties of different kinds of fruit makes it almost imperative to have skilled laborers for harvesting. The Japanese and Chinese have proven themselves very competent here, whereas the average white laborer is incompetent. About 75 per cent of the fruit acreage in this district was operated by Japanese or Chinese under lease or crop contract. Since the alien land law became effective the greater part of this acreage has had to be worked by the white owners: many of them have found themselves operating at a loss, and the general attitude of the district is unfavorable to the alien land laws.

The greatest economic loss here comes from the fact that it will undoubtedly be impossible to obtain the same results from oriental laborers that were formerly obtained from a crop contract. The Orientals desire an interest in the undertaking; without it the results are more than likely to be inferior. It is generally believed, however, that the Orientals, most of whom have lived in the neighborhood for years, will remain there and work as laborers. They are unfitted to undertake other occupations and the majority are not in a position to move to states where they can own land. During the past two years some of the white growers have had satisfactory experience with white tourist laborers; some of them feel that this class of labor will be able adequately to replace the Orientals.

The Chinese and Japanese have been fairly well liked: as in other sections of the state they keep very much to themselves and wish to be left alone.

Imperial Valley—Cantaloupes and Lettuce

THIS exceedingly rich desert area is the largest source of American cantaloupes and lettuce; it ships out every year one freight carload of land products for every man, woman and child in the valley. In 1900 population and products were zero, but with the coming of the hardy pioneers the average annual rainfall of less than half an inch has been far more than compensated for by the irrigation of over half a million acres. Land values seem unbelievably high—$500 an acre is almost a minimum—yet seven crops of alfalfa and other evidences of marvelous fertility justify these valuations. The 2,800 farms are valued at fifty-five million dollars; three-quarters of the farming area and more than half the farms are owned by absentee capitalists. Of the 1,400 farms operated by tenants, the census classification is native white 787, foreign-born white 298, and colored 318; under colored the Japanese predominate. Absenteeism is the curse of the valley.

The bulk of the land is in large tracts held at a high investment. Eighty per cent of the laborers are Mexicans. A rather common situation is white ownership, Japanese or Hindu tenancy or superintendence, and Mexican labor. The entire mammoth cantaloupe and lettuce growing is financed by Eastern buyers since no Western bank will make any advances for these great legitimate gambles. Naturally, therefore, these large firms dominate the situation and employ the most efficient and least costly labor. The Japanese, who have made an enviable record in opening up this country, have until recently been accepted as the most satisfactory growers in the valley, but, with their increasing wage demands and the recent Mexican immigration, they are gradually disappearing as laborers and their supremacy as managers is being very severely questioned. In the valley one finds every shade of opinion; a concensus would lead the writer to believe that Orientals will not leave the valley in appreciable numbers, but that white persons will gradually assume the leadership as growers and operators depending upon Mexicans, Filipinos and possibly Negroes for unskilled labor.

The feeling is friendly towards Filipinos and the few Chinese left, but exceedingly mixed in the case of the Japanese—one of the ablest judges there calls it a 50-50 ratio. Those persons who gain by their presence are their sponsors; those who feel their competition are opposed; those who are engaged in Americanization programs are well-disposed but are dubious about the eventual solution, if any; those individuals who weigh seriously the extremely favorable criminal record and the scant charge upon the community of the Japanese in contrast with the Mexicans, take their part. With a cry for the development of this exceedingly fertile area, peopled by only sixty thousand, this frontier has the customary extreme expressions of opinion.

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Drawn by C. Leroy Baldridge

A STREET HAWKER OF PEKING

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The Oriental Finds a Job

Changing Roles of Chinese and Japanese Workers

By R. D. McKENZIE

WHAT part does the Chinese and Japanese worker play in the economic life of the Pacific states? A changing part, to begin with. Both groups have passed through occupational cycles which, though they differ considerably in detail, are remarkably similar in general outline. The differences are due to the differences in the habits and ambitions of the two oriental groups, to the differences in the economic and political organization of their native countries, and to the differences between the economic and social conditions of America when the Chinese came and later in the day of the Japanese.

I

THE Chinese came first; their cycle of experience antedates that of the Japanese by almost a generation. The first Chinese immigrants arrived in California about the middle of the nineteenth century when that section of the country was in a state of excitement over gold speculation. It was difficult under such conditions to secure labor for the ordinary routine tasks connected with railroad construction, mining and agriculture. So Chinese coolies were imported as a source of energy just as coal or oil might be imported today. The docile coolie trained to work and endure was welcomed at first by the press and government as being a valuable adjunct to the supply of human energy so much needed for industrial development.

Within a few years, however, this impersonal unit of labor became a problem, since he proved to be human and therefore could not be laid aside when his services were no longer in demand. Moreover the syphoned stream of Chinese immigration did not cease to flow when the number of arrivals seemed adequate. On the contrary it increased in magnitude until even the native sons became alarmed lest they might become engulfed in the current. Cries arose on every hand to cut off the inflow. Legislation, our social Peruna, was copiously applied in an effort to stem the tide of further immigration and to restrict the activities of Chinese already in the country. After much discussion and numerous attempts at legislation an exclusion law was finally passed in 1882.

The pressure from organized opposition in California forced many Chinese into neighboring states and territories, as the records of the census indicate. In 1870 the Chinese population of Oregon was 3,330; of Washington 234; Wyoming 143. By 1880 these figures had increased to 9,510, 3,986 and 914 respectively. The demand for labor in railroad construction, mining, fishing and domestic service gave Chinese migrants a welcome outlet to the Pacific Northwest.

It was not long however before the experience in California was repeated in the northern states. The business depression of the early eighties, together with the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1882 and of the Canadian Pacific in 1885, threw large numbers of Chinese coolies out of work. The market was clogged with an over-abundance of unskilled labor. A wave of anti-Chinese sentiment swept over the Northwest, expressing itself in serious riots in Rock Springs, Wyoming, and in different parts of Oregon and Washington. In the autumn of 1885 organized mobs formed in Seattle and Tacoma and in many of the smaller towns for the purpose of forcing the Chinese out of the state. The result was a general exodus of the Chinese from the Pacific Northwest during the 'eighties and their subsequent gradual dispersion throughout the Union. This was a period of great emotional strain and hardship for the Chinese immigrants. Old Chinese today tremble with anger when relating stories of the brutality of the whites during those pioneer days.

During the last few decades the Chinese have gradually withdrawn from practically all the outdoor occupations and have gone into business in the city. The

Three Shifts

THE occupational history of Chinese and Japanese in America falls into three well defined stages which, to be sure, overlap to some extent but in main outline are quite clear.

First, there is a period of contract labor and camp life. The newly-arrived worker is in a condition of semi-servitude while he works off the passage money which was advanced to him. Typically, he moves often from place to place within a zone close to the port of entry; he comes into frequent and direct conflict with migratory white labor.

Second, a period of occupational exploration during which the worker has some freedom of choice. During this stage workers tend to concentrate in certain occupations and to become segregated in certain territories. Communal life becomes established and various types of institutions are formed to assist the individual in his struggle to cope with his new environment. Opposition to the oriental worker in this stage arises chiefly among the small white proprietors, especially those with whom the Oriental actively competes. Opposition becomes organized and takes the form of legislative action.

Third, a tendency toward wider occupational and territorial distribution, accompanied by a subsiding of prejudice and active opposition on the part of Americans. This stage began in the case of the Chinese when the second generation came into control. More familiar than their fathers with the language and customs of the American people, they were free to choose more widely both job and place of residence. The Japanese being more recent arrivals are just beginning to enter this stage.

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1920 census shows that 41 per cent of the total Chinese population of America at that time were segregated in eight large cities; San Francisco, New York, Oakland, Chicago, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, Boston. This drift to the cities is clearly shown in the state of Washington. In 1880 only 7 per cent of the total Chinese population of the state were residents of Seattle; by 1900 this ratio had increased to 15 per cent and in 1920 it was 58 per cent. The Chinese population of Seattle increased 46 per cent from 1910 to 1920 though that of the state as a whole had decreased 13 per cent during the same decade.

The urbanization of the Chinese is due to several factors. The old generation of camp workers is rapidly passing and the younger generation prefer business to camp life. The Chinese have always remained a male population. They have shown no tendency to establish family life in America; the proportion of adult males to females the country over is still about seven to one. The failure to bring their families to America has practically excluded the Chinese from rural or even village life, the large city being much more attractive to the mobile male.

THE average American thinks of Chinese business as consisting of the laundry and the chop suey. The laundry is the traditional form of Chinese business in America, the chop suey a more recent development. The first business directory of Seattle, published in 1876 when the total population was less than 3,000, gives a list of nine laundries, all under Chinese names. The entry of the Chinese into the laundry business not only in America but in England, Java, Straits Settlements, in fact in every country to which they have immigrated, is a conundrum difficult to explain; certainly no Chinese laundryman ever saw a starched collar or a white shirt before his arrival in the western hemisphere. Where he learned the art of making a linen collar stiff and glossy is still unknown to science; perhaps he acquired it from an Irish housewife. At any rate it took the astute mind of a Chinese to discover in the laundry business an occupation that he might pursue without fear of molestation. He passed the secret on to his relatives, so that practically all Chinese laundrymen come from a single district near Canton.

The introduction of the steam laundry and all the labor-saving machinery connected therewith has relegated the Chinese laundry to a subsidiary position. Chinese have not entered the steam laundry business either as proprietors or as employes; consequently their laundry activities at present are limited to small neighborhood establishments doing hand-work business. Seattle has actually fewer Chinese laundries in operation today than it had twenty years ago.

The chop suey, the evolutionary outgrowth of the pioneer restaurant, is the most highly developed form of Chinese business in America at the present time. It is an ingenious institution and one which on account of its name—as effective as a copyrighted trademark—opens up a noncompetitive vocational field.

The chop suey, like the Chinese laundry, originated in America. The name really means "small pieces" and in Canton designates the poor man's dish of left-overs. Some observant Chinese, perceiving the American attitude toward quantity consumption, hit upon the idea of serving what seemed to be a large amount of food for a small cost. He was able to do this by concocting a mixture the major contents of which were bulky inexpensive materials such as pea sprouts, Chinese cabbage, onions and other vegetables. His method of buying supplies, also, was and is economical; he imports them direct from China or is supplied by Chinese firms in America. His labor force is composed of young Chinese who, in search of adventure and experience, move from city to city, paying their expenses by serving as waiters.

There are two types of chop suey business. There is the plain restaurant which caters to customers of small income; such establishments are usually located on ground floors in the lower rental areas. The more important type of chop suey is the combination restaurant and amusement place. It is here that the Chinese has shown his ingenuity and business acumen. He usually seeks a large upper room in or near an amusement center and equips his shop with elaborate furnishings, adding enough Oriental color and art to make it "different." This sort of place caters chiefly to night crowds and serves as a rendezvous for after-theater parties.

The Chinese lottery, originally a form of amusement within the group, has gradually acquired the status of an organized business which caters to migratory workers of all nationalities. The extent of the lottery business varies from season to season and from place to place according to the attitude of the public and the activity of the police. In some cities, however, the lottery tends to become the major form of business, as was the case in Seattle a few years ago when there were over forty Chinese lotteries in operation and tickets were purchased by the ton.

The Chinese lottery, being most efficient in its particular form of service, tends to drive out lotteries run by other nationals. The low price of tickets, ten cents and up; the quiet honesty of the proprietor, always ready to pay his debts; and general astuteness in dealing with the police seem to be the chief conditions making for success.

The most recent development in Chinese business is the art goods store dealing in porcelains, curios and novelties. In this line, however, the Chinese find keen competition from other nationals. Definite information is lacking, but Chinese importing agents say that this is fast becoming one of the most important forms of Chinese business in America.

Practically all Chinese business in America, as in China, is organized on the individual or partnership basis; the corporation is very rare. Even the large chop suey establishments are as a rule individual or partnership affairs. Chinese business has grown up in response to local conditions; it has little connection with China; it does not, save in a few instances, such as the Bank of Canton, the China Commercial Company and the Wah Cheong Trading Company, represent the foreign extension of firms in China. Whatever contact exists between the local Chinese merchant and his homeland is of an informal and unorganized nature.

II

JAPANESE immigration commenced about the time that Chinese immigration ceased. In 1880, two years prior to the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act, there were but 148 Japanese in America and only one in the state of Washington. The tide of Japanese immigration did not get well under way until the nineties and did not reach its peak till 1907 just before the "Gentlemen's Agreement" became effective.

Like their Chinese predecessors the first Japanese immigrants were encouraged to come to America to meet the

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demand for unskilled labor, a demand accentuated by the sudden cessation of Chinese immigration. But the America which the Japanese entered was quite different from that to which the first Chinese had come some forty years before. During the intervening period the population of the Pacific coast had increased many fold; all the main railroad lines had been constructed; large cities had emerged, creating a demand for agricultural products and building materials. The early Japanese immigrants, therefore, especially those who came to the Pacific Northwest, passed their pioneer days in America working in gangs clearing land, doing unskilled work around saw mills and logging camps and seasonal work in the Alaska canneries.

The Japanese quickly passed from the migratory camp life stage to a settled communal condition where they became the heads of households and independent farmers or business men. This transition from a migratory to a settled form of living is shown by the trend of participation in the lumber industry of Washington and in the fish canning industry of Alaska. The lumber industry furnished the main pot-boiler to Japanese immigrants in the Pacific Northwest during their period of occupational exploration. As early as 1907, 2,685, or about 30 per cent of the male adults of the Japanese population of Washington, were employed in the logging and lumber camps of the state. At this time Japanese constituted 6 per cent of the total number of workers in the lumber industry. However by 1924 the number had dropped to 1,458, a decrease of 46 per cent since 1907, despite the fact that the total number of employes in the industry had increased 30 per cent during this period. Moreover the Japanese who have remained in the lumber industry have succeeded in establishing a certain degree of settled communal life. A thorough canvass made in the summer of 1924 showed that 34 per cent of the total number of Japanese employes had their families with them in the camps, and that the average term of employment was seven years as compared with two months for white laborers.

The number of Japanese employed in the salmon canneries of Alaska is also showing a pronounced tendency to decline. It is becoming more difficult each year for labor contractors to meet the demand for Japanese and Chinese workmen. In the summer of 1925 approximately 1,200 Japanese were employed there. About two thirds of this number, mostly students and other detached persons seeking temporary employment, went from the state of Washington.

The general tendency of the Japanese to establish households is clearly shown by the census data for the state of Washington relating to trends in sex composition and marital condition. In 1900 the ratio of Japanese males fifteen years of age and over to females of the same age group was thirty-three to one; in 1910 the ratio was eight to one; and by 1920 it was only two to one. The percentage of married males of course increased *pari passu* with the increasing proportion of women. In 1900 14 per cent of Japanese males fifteen years and over were married; in 1910, 25 per cent; in 1920, 57 per cent.

The choice of occupations by the Japanese has shown trends quite unlike those of the Chinese. In the first place the Japanese of Washington, as in the rest of the country, have shown a tendency toward agriculture and rural segregation in contrast to the Chinese tendency toward business and urbanization. In 1900 about 53 per cent of the Japanese in Washington were residents of Seattle; in 1910, 48 per cent; in 1920, 45 per cent. On the other hand there has been a distinct tendency for the Japanese farm population of the state to concentrate in the Puget Sound region. In 1900, 67 per cent of the Japanese population of Washington were residents of King and Pierce Counties—the counties in which Seattle and Tacoma are located—and by 1920 this ratio had increased to 78 per cent.

Of the 699 Japanese farms in Washington reported in the 1920 Census 419 were located in King County. According to the Japanese Association figures, 95 per cent of the Japanese farmers of the state in 1923 were residents of King and Pierce Counties and 60 per cent were concentrated in the White River Valley.

THE drift of the Japanese into agriculture and the conditions associated therewith are well illustrated in the history of the White River Valley. This valley extends from the mouth of the Duamish River at Seattle south for about thirty-five miles and varies in width from one to three miles. Its rich alluvial soil is excellently suited to the production of a wide variety of vegetables and small fruits. Prior to 1890, when the surrounding region was sparsely inhabited, the cultivated part of this valley was devoted exclusively to hop growing. By 1910, however, when the population of Washington had more than trebled and five transcontinental lines had made the Puget Sound district accessible to the inland markets of the country, the form of agriculture in this valley changed rather abruptly from hop growing to dairy farming. The location of the Carnation and Borden condensaries in Kent and Auburn furnished a stable market for milk which in turn made for greater concentration of dairying. The land increased in value under dairy farming with the result that new clearings were made and converted in pasturage. Labor was required for the uninteresting tasks of milking and land clearing; many Japanese found ready employment on the dairy farms.

The third change in agricultural production in this region which is still in progress is that from dairy farming to market gardening and berry growing. This transition is the natural result of increasing land values—from 50 to 200 per cent during the last decade—and the shift from ownership to tenancy. It was at this stage of the industrial cycle that the Japanese who had previously been laborers on the farms, suddenly advanced to the status of tenants and in some cases became owners. As soon as the land was placed on the market for rent the Japanese quickly gained possession. They cultivated the land more intensely, worked harder, were less exacting in their demands, and consequently were able to pay higher rents than their white competitors.

The invasion of the Japanese in the White River Valley does not, as many suppose, imply 100 per cent displacement of American farmers. Much of the land now cultivated by white farmers was orignally cleared by Japanese labor, and approximately half of the Japanese farms were acquired in the rough natural state rather than through the displacement of white farmers. It is common practice for a white owner to rent a piece of wild land to a Japanese who clears and cultivates it, getting in return for his labor one or two rent-free crops. The motorist driving by such a farm with its fertile well-kept appearance gets (*Continued on page* 218)

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The Great Wall of Chinatown

How the Chinese Mind Their Own Business Behind It

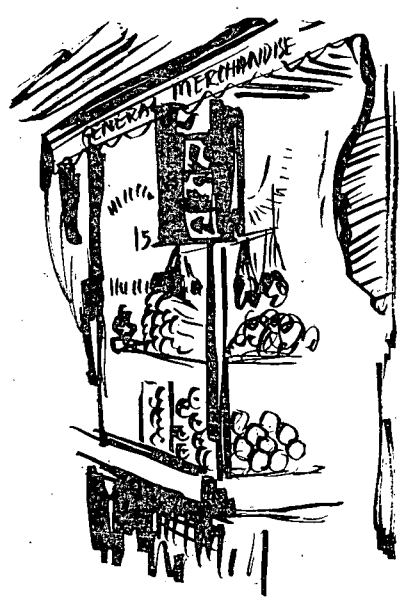
By WINIFRED RAUSHENBUSH

Sketches by Alexander Calder

NO easterner who has not seen them can have any adequate conception of what the great Chinatowns of the Pacific coast are like. Neither the small black rabbit warrens of Pell, Mott, and Doyle street in New York, nor the drab half-lighted blocks on Twenty-second street in Chicago, will have prepared him for the airiness, the pride and the repose of Vancouver's or San Francisco's Chinese quarter.

There are two blocks in Vancouver which are as gay as any streets on the North American continent. The best time to see them is not at night, when they are lined with lights like a regatta, but in the early morning before the Vancouver fog, touched with the smell of ocean salt and forest fires, has quite cleared away. Chinatown lies in what used to be a marsh down by the waterfront. Strolling away from Vancouver's shopping district, you find yourself on the crest of a hill with the street that plunges down before you leading straight into Chinatown. It is a very wide street, raspberry colored in the fog. From the crest of this hill it is almost possible to look down on top of Chinatown, and certainly you have the sensation that you could scoop it up and hold it in your hand, as though it were a toy put together of chips of alabaster, jade, and rose quartz. The streets are very wide, the alleys very narrow, the buildings are tinted, old men potter about the balconies with their gleaming laurel shrubs, and along the sidewalk edge Chinese merchants are engaged in setting out their goods long before the rest of Vancouver is awake.

San Francisco's streets differ from those of Vancouver principally in tempo. Vancouver's Chinatown is like Vancouver; no one hurries. Sometimes in the early afternoon the atmosphere gets so thick and sleepy that one could stir it with a spoon. In San Francisco's Chinatown, on the other hand, the sparkling prickling champagne air of the Golden Gate fills one's nostrils and the visitors from the Middle West, who begin pouring into Chinatown at nine o'clock in the morning, do not ebb away until ten or eleven o'clock at night when the Chinatown shops close. The Chinese types, especially the women, to be seen in San Francisco are also more varied than in Vancouver. In San Francisco the Chinese flapper and her sheik stroll down the hills of Chinatown in half-embrace, while old Chinese women in wigs, black trousers and high-heeled American shoes plod up the hill after a forage into the San Francisco department stores. In Vancouver, there are almost no women on the streets; occasionally a tall slender girl in trousers and pigtail, with a red fox fur around her shoulders and a man's cap pulled down Apache fashion over one eyebrow, tap-taps along the street with her escort.



Three passions of the Chinatown bachelor: gambling, gossip and food

These two Chinatowns are the capital cities for the Chinese in Canada and the United States. Nor is this merely a literary or sentimental description. The Chinese resident in both countries elect immigrant senators to represent them in China and officials of the Chinese Benevolent Association to act as their representatives and judges within the confines of Canada and the United States. Of this, more later.

The Chinatowns of the Pacific coast are as packed with clubs as a New England town, but these clubs belong to men rather than to women. If you were, quite literally, to rip the roofs off the two gay blocks of Vancouver's Chinatown which are its Main street, its Broadway, and its Fifth Avenue, you would find like rich frosting on a cake a multidudinous array of clubs—family clubs, county clubs, reading clubs, political clubs, decorated according to the wealth and taste of the members with red oil-cloth and priceless carvings, or with crystal candelabra, delicate Chinese embroideries and portraits of the ancestors. An examination of top-floor Chinatown would reveal not only that the Chinese have a political life, but that the Chinatown Chinese of the coast come of pioneer stock, that they are by tradition fundamentalists, and that they have family trees which go back a little farther into the dim mythical spaces of time than do any other family trees except those of the Irish.

Chinatown's clubs are a shadowy counterpart of Chinatown's three quite separate generations. The older generation of Chinese, who still predominate in Chinatown, live in a very remote world where all the paradoxes are made taut; a world which is at once very stable and very frail, a world which is packed with pleasant sensations and worn smooth with loneliness. Less remote from the westerner is the generation which is Chinese-born but which has been affected by the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Youth Movement. These young men are aggressive and wildly discontented; they seethe with ideas, and are passionately devoted to the new China which is coming into being. The native-born, who

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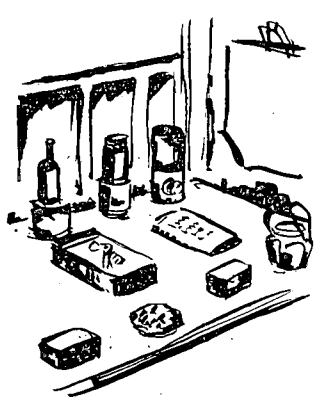
have Chinese Native Sons' Parlors up and down the coast, know little about either the old China or the new; England, and especially Victorian England, seems closer to them than the aphorisms of Confucius or the dreams of Sun Yat Sen. When a curious European visitor asked a Chinese boy on the coast whether he was American-born, the answer was quick and ardent. "Always," he replied, an exquisite Chinese smile lighting his face.

The organizations of the older generation are the family and county clubs. Most of the Chinese in our Chinatowns come from twelve families and from thirteen counties in Kwangtung province. The Lees, the Chens and the Wongs are among the prominent families, and San Wuii county and Sun Ning county are both heavily represented. The importance of the family and county to the older generation is that the Chinese who belongs to pre-revolutionary China, as most of the older men do, never acts as an individual; he always lets an organization represent him.

The Chinese Benevolent Association, or as it is called in San Francisco the Chinese Six Companies, is a very venerable institution of the older generation which was established in the 'fifties, when six county clubs imported "Chinese gentlemen" to represent them in their dealings with the United States government. These "Chinese gentlemen" were formally recognized by the United States as the ambassadors of the American Chinese, and thus enjoyed a standing not conferred upon most immigrant institutions. Later the Chinese gentlemen came to be known in Chinatown as "rice-ladles," because they cost a lot and were of no use to anyone. The Chinese now elect their own officials, and do not bother to import Chinese scholars.

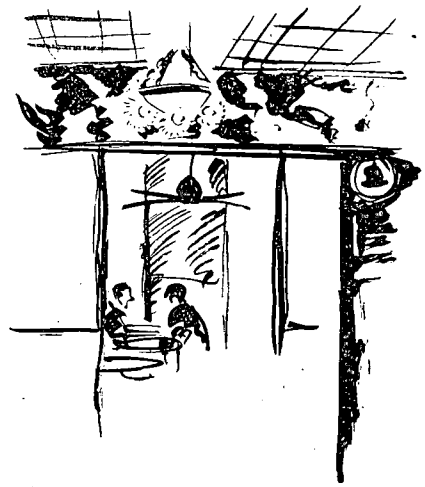
Chinatown cousins in the family store

The Six Companies is a very important institution, because it combines within itself all the departments of Chinatown's government. It provides for any Chinese who has no family or county club to appeal to, and it formulates Chinatown's foreign policy in relation to the Americans. Most significant, however, in its relation to the peace of Chinatown is its judicial capacity. When other arbitration fails, any organization in Chinatown can appeal to the Six Companies as though to the Supreme Court. In referring to the most difficult cases which the Six Companies has to handle—the disputes between different highbinder or fighting tongs—the Chinese say that the Six Companies is a League of Nations in miniature.



The chop suey front

The third important organization of the older generation is the highbinder tong or fighting tong. These fighting tongs, which first appeared in the 'seventies, the decade of most violent anti-Chinese feeling on the coast, are not to be found in China, nor are they imitations of the American criminal gangs which they so much resemble; they are hybrids—out of the American city by the Chinese sense of face. Legislative restrictions passed against the Chinese by the Americans have given them their economic base, Chinese traditions have given them their membership, and the fact that Chinatown has no police force of its own has given them their almost unbreakable grip on the Chinese community.



Red nights at San José: tong lieutenant orders $1,500 banquet

This economic base derives from the fact that American restrictions have made bootlegging in familial relations, women, property and gambling so very profitable. Their membership they owe to three Chinese traditions, to Chinese pacificism, which allows itself to be harried by bullies, bandits and soldiers, to the fact that the oriental individual is no stronger than the group he belongs to, and to the Chinese conception of face or honor. The Chinese are a very disappointing people to the western idealist and a very delightful people to the western pagan. The idealist will find in them none of the philosophic aura of Hindu mysticism, none of the human and moving loyalty of the Japanese patriot. The Chinese are realists. Only about one thing are they a little mad, and that is the matter of having or not having face.

The American asks his opponent for a fight as a Frenchman asks his for a duel, by the use of one or two well-known words. The Chinese, being one of the older and more settled races, who have had a chance to study etiquette with some leisure, show much greater ingenuity in insulting each other. The mere size of an ideograph in a letter, its position a millimeter to the left or the right, is a delicate sneer. To the American the tong wars of the Pacific coast sound as otherworldly as jungle tales would sound if told by the author of Guermantes' Way. What appears to be delicate burlesque turns at the funniest moment into tragedy, while the most romantic and desperate passions froth themselves out in farce.

A lover whose courtesan-sweetheart was insulted saved his face and precipitated a tong war by shooting three men. The Six Companies, in its role as the League of Nations, tried to settle the case, but was not successful. A tong war, which would further enhance the fame and boldness of the lover, was to begin at eight o'clock of a Tuesday night. At seven-forty-five, however, another tong war broke out, a much more important tong war, and the poor lover and his affairs were quite forgotten.

In another tong war, the treasurer of a fighting tong

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gave the tong soldiers $1,500 to kill an enemy. The tong soldiers reported to the tong president, who said that there were to be no killings. What then, the tong soldiers demanded, were they to do with the money that they had received? They could not very well give it back. The tong president shrugged his shoulders and suggested that they have a banquet. They accepted the suggestion. But when, after a few jovial red nights in San José, they returned to San Francisco headquarters it was to discover that in the president's absence they had been expelled from the tong. For a tong soldier this means almost certain death, for his victim's relatives know he is no longer protected.

There have been tong wars on the Pacific coast for over fifty years, and some of the reporters and the police are beginning to get the drift of them. But it is fair to say that except in a few instances the American papers never get the real version of what lies behind a tong war. This is partly because there are usually several dozen half-mythical versions floating around Chinatown, each of which would have to be complemented by some other version, but it is due even more to the fact that the Chinese keep their own counsel, realizing that the Americans do not attach the same values to certain kinds of conduct that they do, and that therefore the Americans might laugh at them and their affairs. To be laughed at by an American in an affair of honor would be to lose face just when one was trying to gain face.

How little the Occidentals know what lies behind Chinese quarrels, and how reluctant the Chinese are to use the white courts, is suggested by an incident which occurred in a mining town in British Columbia. Two Chinese families, the Quongs and the Lees, went to two Canadian lawyers in the city of Victoria, the capital of the province. They said that a man named Quong had attacked and robbed a man named Lee as the latter was coming out of a gambling place. The Lee family therefore wished to bring suit against the robber. The case was duly entered on the calendar, but at the last moment both the Lee family and the Quong family notified their lawyers that they wished to withdraw the case. As this was contrary to procedure, the two lawyers demanded an explanation. The Chinese then made a frank statement. The robbery, they said, was merely a frame-up. What had really happened was that a man named Lee, a good-for-nothing half wit who had drifted into town from God knows where, had made a slighting remark about a Quong woman. The Quongs had therefore tried to involve the half-wit by claiming that he had assaulted and robbed a Quong. Now, however, both families were so disturbed for fear the woman's name should be mentioned in court that they wished to withdraw the case. They told the lawyers that if the Lees would consent to burn firecrackers before the Quong club's door, the Quongs would consider the incident closed.

In general, the Chinese have little respect for and little confidence in American or Canadian courts. The lack of understanding with which Chinese cases are handled when they are dragged into an American court has convinced the Chinese that our courts offer them little in the way of justice. A slave girl case is in point.

As there are still six Chinese men to every Chinese woman in the United States, the Chinese prostitute is a very important person. Most of the Chinese prostitutes are owned and managed by the fighting tongs, and even when a prostitute has bought herself free, she usually joins a tong in order to enjoy its protection. These girls, who are usually brought over from China when they are quite young, on the pretext of marriage, are bought for a sum of money from their parents by the men who pretend to marry them, just as any Chinese bride is bought, it being the man and not the woman in China who provides the dowry. In this country, where there is a shortage of women, the value of the girl is naturally much enhanced; it usually rises to $3,000 or even $5,000. A girl may be transferred from one owner to another, and this happens sometimes when the girl's heart "goes elsewhere." She is allowed to keep part of her earnings and can buy herself free, if she can save enough to cover not only her market price, but her heavier expenses in the way of jewelry and settings. Such in brief is the slave-girl system of Chinatown.

This particular slave girl case was being tried in San Francisco in the summer of 1924. The lawyer who was hired by the Chinese owners of the girl succeeded in proving to the satisfaction of the jury that the girl had never been a prostitute. If found guilty, she would have been handed over, if she wished, to Miss Cameron, the quiet Quakeress who presides over a rescue mission for Chinese slave girls. Being found innocent, she was supposedly free. Freedom actually meant, however, that she would return to her trade and that in case she ever succeeded in buying herself free she would have to pay to her owners not only her price and her expenses but the fee of the lawyer who defended her as well.

None of the American jury, half of whom were women, knew anything about the Chinese slave girl system and the prosecuting attorney did not introduce any description of it into the case. When the trial was over, a number of women on the jury, headed by a fat motherly creature with frizzed blond hair, headed for the slender betrousered girl whom they had acquitted.

"Are you the interpreter?" said the motherly female to the young man who stood beside the girl.

"Yes," he replied.

"Well, tell her, from all of us that we want her to go home—and remember this—to be a good girl."

Another reason for the Chinese lack of confidence in our courts is because they are accustomed to bribe the police and to pay some of the very shady lawyers they employ money which they imagine to be for the judge and the jury. In Vancouver, it is rumored, when the police have collected the annual contribution of $50,000 to the city treasury, they cease their raids on the Chinese gambling houses. It was perhaps not a wholly naive remark that a Vancouver official made when he said: "The Chinese are the best friends the police have got." The older generation of Chinese, at least, have made themselves solid with the Americans they actually come in contact with by using the same methods that they used with officials at home—by presents and by bribes.

Slave girl's supper

Under the roofs of Chinatown, then, are the family and county clubs, the Six Companies, and the fighting tongs: all institutions of the older

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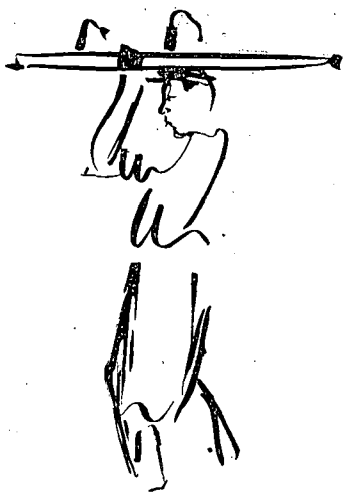
Chinese. In San Francisco, which is the oldest American Chinatown, these organizations all dovetail into each other. The county clubs elect the officials of the Six Companies, and the Six Companies, many of whose officials are men influential in the highbinder tongs, settle the quarrels of the highbinder tongs. They conduct the conciliation proceedings that must take place before wars begins, and the debt settlements that always follow them. Incidentally, they do succeed in checking many tong wars. Considering how small a world Chinatown is, it is a very complicated one. But it is also extremely provincial. The Chinese do not have "get together parties," each man knows only his own family, county or club associates. But though the cliques in Chinatown are sharply separated, they gossip about each other. In Chinatown everyone knows what everyone else has done from the time he was born; no man can escape his reputation as we can in our great cities by moving from place to place, and scandal percolates through Chinatown like the wine flavor through chowmein.

The family clubs, the county clubs, the Six Companies and the highbinder tongs are all national organizations with national headquarters. The only difference between these institutions of the two Chinese capitals is that while San Francisco is the headquarters for eight of the nine fighting tongs in the United States, Vancouver and Canada generally have no fighting tongs at all. The Chinese of Vancouver explain this by saying that it is due to the greater severity of English law. There are other reasons, however, which help to explain the difference, one of which is that San Francisco's Chinatown is seventy-five years old, while Vancouver's has been in existence for about thirty.

More important still is the fact that the Vancouver Chinese have been strongly influenced by the ideas of post-revolutionary China. All of the Chinese realize that they belong to a country that not only has been great in the past, but that has potential greatness. But the older Chinese were also aware that China cared nothing about her emigrants, and that even if she did, she was powerless to help them. The post-revolutionary generation on the coast believe that the Chinese dragon is now awake and they yearn for the day when it will reach out its paw and smite down the people who have insulted them. Moreover, China is no longer indifferent to her emigrants. Sun Yat Sen, who has been one of the great figures in China during the last generation, was like the American Chinese a native of Kwangtung province and travelled much among the Chinese on the coast, finding there some of the most faithful supporters of his cause. The greatest of the three political societies of Chinatown, the Nationalist Society, is based on Sun Yat Sen's ideas.

The Chinese of Canada are passing through the same cycle of experiences as the Chinese of the United States. The American Chinese came in the 'fifties, were bitterly attacked in the 'seventies and 'eighties and after a residence of fifty years in the United States began to find themselves tolerated and even liked. The Canadian Chinese are living through what the American Chinese lived through in the 'seventies. But whereas the Chinese of America retreated to their ghettos or left for China, the Canadian Chinese, with a fatherland in revolution for a backdrop, do not take kindly to the ghetto where they are asked to keep themselves nor to the discriminatory laws which have been passed defining their status.



Tea served: 1 A. M.

An American woman who has been married to a Chinese for twenty years was trying to collect money for one of the Vancouver hospitals from a group of Chinese women shortly after the law had been passed which made it obligatory for the Chinese to register with the provincial government.

"Give them money?" said one Chinese woman, "I'd rather give them a brick in the head!"

A young business man said: "Just let me tell you this: maybe you think we are going to be like those old servants who say 'Yes, sir, No, sir,' all polite and lovely; but we're not. We young Chinese have got pictures of Jack Dempsey on our walls and we're going to show you people."

For the most part the American Chinese, at least the older generation, have been curiously passive and indifferent about what the Americans thought about them. The more pugnacious Anglo Saxons and Irishmen of the coast have not understood this attitude; the fighting temper of the Japanese—even if irritating—seemed more comprehensible and also more admirable. In Canada, however, the Chinese are behaving much as the Japanese do in the United States; they are bitter and aggressive and they are even making some moves toward making these attitudes known. So far, it is true, they have not gotten as far as the Japanese either in understanding their hosts or in developing publicity methods. For the most part, Chinese anger is contained within the walls of Chinatown; the kettle simmers and roars, but it does not boil over. The fact that the Canadians in the surrounding city do not remotely know or care how they—the Chinese—feel makes their anger the more intense.

The Canadian Chinese found an opportunity to show their temper at the time of the Victoria school strike. Victoria, the capital of the province, has an old and very wealthy Chinatown. A few years ago an attempt was made to segregate the Chinese children in separate schools, because though most of them were Canadian-born, a few who were Chinese-born retarded the others. The oriental children in one of the public schools were asked to stand up. Then the Japanese children were told to sit down. One Chinese boy, sensing the insult, marched out of the room and the rest followed him. The Chinese community, led by the Chinese Native Sons Association, which has a few very brilliant and active members, asked the school authorities to explain the incident. The Chinese school children then went on strike for a year. At the end of the year, the older boys were put in special classes, but the Canadian Chinese children went back to the public schools on their own terms, which were "no discrimination in regard to creed, class or color."

One reason that there are no fighting tongs and very few feuds and scandals in Vancouver and the other Chinatowns of British Columbia is because the Chinese are proud. Sentiment against them is at present strong; in fact British Columbia is the only

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place on the coast where the Chinese are disliked. Tong wars and feuds would be so much tinder in the hands of the Vancouver Anti-Asiatic Society and the Canadian politician, so these things are not allowed to occur. The Benevolent Association and the Native Sons Association combine to keep the peace within Chinatown's walls. This is a mark not only of pride, but of something rarer and more commendable; it is a mark of intelligence.

It is just because anti-Chinese feeling is strong in Vancouver that the Chinese are turning to their young men for leadership. The best that the older generation of Chinese can do, when Canadian restrictions seem to them too harsh, is to ask their countrymen in Kwangtung province to boycott English goods. The younger men, it is felt, not only have a better command of English, but are more en rapport with western ideas, whether they share those ideas or not. The typical organization of the revolutionary China-born generation is the Nationalist Society, a political organization interested in the future of China; the typical organization of the Canadian-born is the Native Sons Association, which is interested in Chinatown.

There are two courses open to the single man the world over; one is the round of women, gambling and drinking on which the Americans believe that the older Chinese spend themselves, the other is intellectual activity. Chinatown is more a man's community than any place in America except the lumber-camp and the prison, and here too life has a double edge. If bottom-floor Chinatown is lined with gambling places and tea-houses where little pigtailed waitresses, metallic as butterflies and moth-soft to the touch, skim about dispensing rice wine and back-talk, top-floor Chinatown is well stocked with Chinese newspapers and with men's talk. The Vancouver Chinese feel that Chinatown under the impetus of the revolution is experiencing a renaissance. "Everyone talks politics now," said an official of the conservative Reform the Emperor Association, "even the women and children. They talk about it too much. There is the same atmosphere here that there was after the French revolution."

The principal idea which the Chinatown renaissance has produced is a repudiation of nationalism. Nationalism is regarded as being one of the ideas which the western world has tried and found wanting and which China in her societal experiments will not need to bother with. This belief, generally held in Vancouver, is expressed with brevity or interpretations according to the individual's temperament.

"We Chinese don't believe in nationality," said a man of the older generation. "After awhile, Chinese and Canadians will be all mixed up."

A man who left China after the revolution said: "I think the time is coming when the Chinese and the whites will be all mixed together. Not in your and my lifetime, you understand, but in a few centuries. Until then, for the next half-century say, I think it is better that immigration should stop. And I do not think it will happen on this continent. This continent is like an island, and the people have a very strong idea that they must have people of their own kind. But in Asia or Europe. Europe is after all a peninsula of Asia. And there is another European war coming. After that the people of Europe may be as poor as the blacks of Africa. Well. . . ." He shrugged his eyebrows.

"I remember reading Scott's Ivanhoe when I was still in China. One of his friends asked him why he didn't have Rebecca marry Ivanhoe. But he said he couldn't do that. That was only a hundred years ago. And look at the difference in the position of the Jews in England now—the Rothschild family and the whole change there has been.

"The Chinese here are in the same situation as the Jews. Or as the Jews were once in Germany—in England too, I guess. I am a Christian and I have read the old testament which is a record of the Hebraic peoples. I find many points of similarity between them and the Chinese. They are also an old race and so conservative. Being an old race it was very hard for them to assimilate with all these new races, and the new races demanded it. They fear the old races. So, it is hard too for the Chinese to be assimilated."

This repudiation of nationalism, however, does not always work both ways. The real desire of the Chinatown Chinese is that China become a strong power, even though that means militarism or an alliance with Russia, neither of which ideas pleases them, so that she will be able to succor them and nourish their pride. In consciously repudiating nationalism the Chinese are in reality only striking out blindly against their inferior status and their isolation.

The most significant fact about the Chinatowns of the United States and Canada is that they are ghettos—Chinese villages encysted in a foreign city. A Chinese in Canada who was being educated for the ministry suddenly became discontented after the arrival of his wife from China. "My wife doesn't like this country," he told a missionary friend. "Why not?" asked the missionary, "Don't you have hot and cold water here, pavements, street cars and autos?"

"She says," the husband replied, "She'd rather go to the village well, where she can talk to the other women, that the pavements make you tired, that the rickshaws are nicer than street cars because it takes you longer to get somewhere, and that as we'll never be able to own an auto, autos are nothing to us." And then he added, "What is going to become of our children in this country? They will never belong on Grant avenue, where the Canadians are; they will always belong on Pender street."

The more sophisticated members of Vancouver's Chinatown feel this isolation quite as keenly as did the candidate for the ministry. A Canadian-born Chinese of good family who had been educated in one of the great eastern universities of the United States returned to the Pacific coast with about the same feeling that the educated northern negro would have if in order to be with his family he were forced to take up his residence in the South. He found himself suddenly cut off from anyone except his own people. The experience did not discourage him or make him bitter; but it left him a little lonely. "Vancouver is very beautiful, isn't it?" he remarked. "I love it here. But it is rather dull. So few new people come to town, or one does not see them, and one cannot visit one's few friends every day, can one? I think if I had the ability, I could be the premier of Canada. Look at Louis Brandeis in the United States and Lloyd George in England. However, if I cannot be very famous, I prefer to be very obscure."

The reason the Chinese ghetto is the most uncomfortable place in America is because it is usually so small. While New York city has more Jews than all of Europe except Russia, and Harlem is the (*Continued on page* 221)

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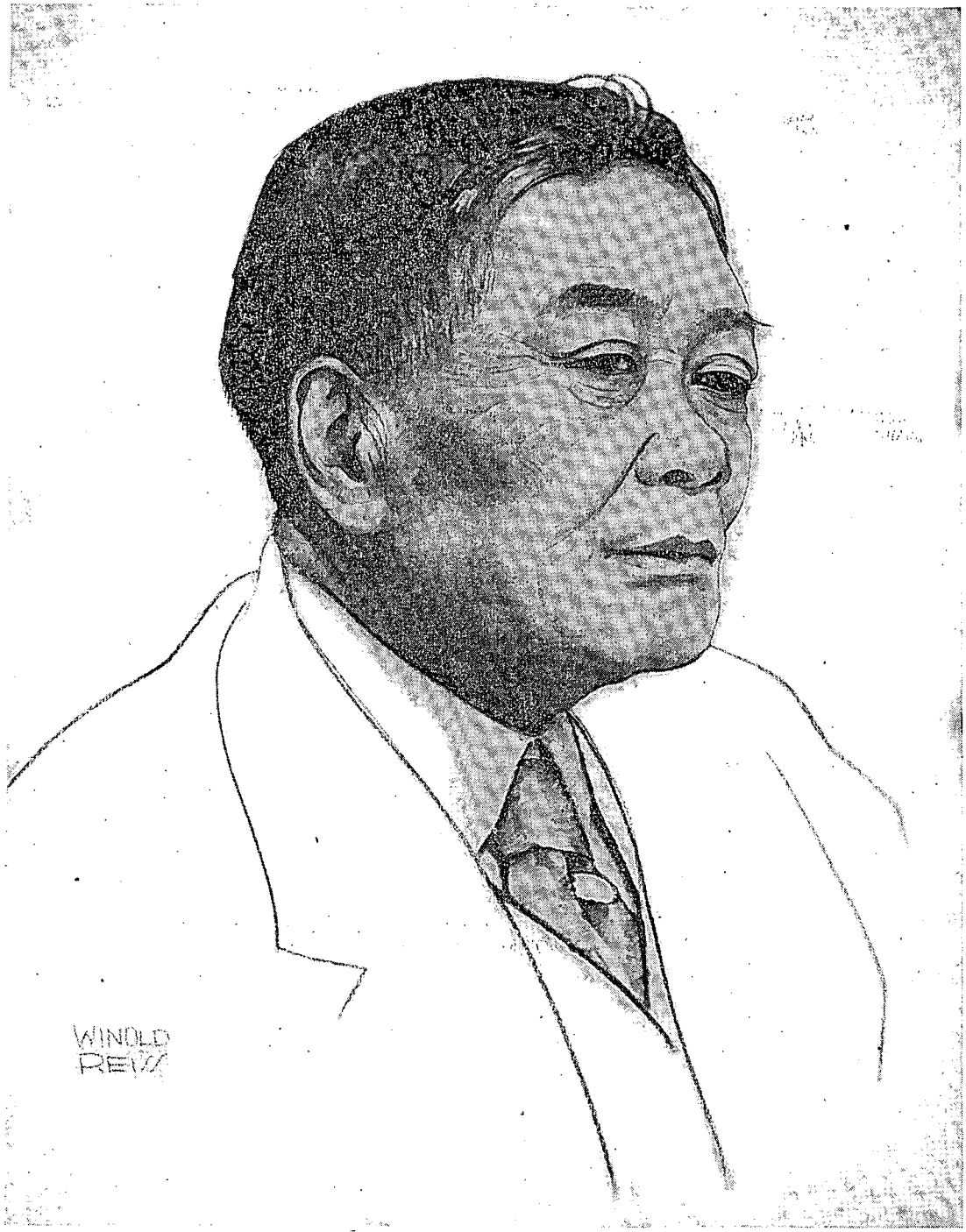

Mark Ten Sui, a Chinese business man who came to America in 1872, arriving at San Francisco on the first iron steamboat to cross the Pacific

Five Portraits of Orientals in America

By WINOLD REISS

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Seishi Katsumi, from Gifu, Japan

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Wei Lin, from Fukien, China.

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Watanabi, a Japanese painter in New York

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Mrs. Tabusa, from Hiroshima, Japan

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Two Poems

By FLORA BELLE JAN

Yellow

Yellow—gold, glittering, gleaming,
Yellow—pollen wafted by the wind—
Yellow—locks that hide a yellow heart.

I was born at the Yellow Palace—
Yellow robes I wore—
The gold dragon bore us malice—
The yellow crest in shreds he tore.

I discovered a yellow poppy,
Tinted like my skin—
In its heart I saw a vision,
Petals folded in.

We were seeking the end of the rainbow,
For gold, for gold.
In his hair, in his smile I found it—
(Too worthless to be sold!)

Yellow—pollen wafted by the wind—
Yellow—a wan flower's vision—
Yellow—sunflowers sighing in the night.

Please, God—

Please, God, will you create a soul
Again for me?
I want my present soul to mold—
To cease to be.

My soul has veins that hold just tears,
And when released
They flood my eyes, my face, my hair,
And will not cease.

I want a soul that cannot feel
Nor hate, nor love.
Nor sympathize nor want to steal
The things of love.

My ideal soul will not regret
Nor dream nor sigh.
Then disillusion cannot let
The tear gates fly.

Please God, if you can't make that soul,
Don't let me weep
For a better one; just take this soul,
And give me sleep.

Three Roads, and None Easy

An American-Born Japanese Looks at Life

By KAZUO KAWAI

I WAS riding in a Pullnam car last winter, returning home to Los Angeles from a visit in the East, when I struck up an acquaintance with the Negro porter. Seeing that I was not a white man, but a Japanese, he beckoned me to come into his inner sanctuary by the wash-room several times during the course of the long, monotonous journey; and there, as we sat secluded, the Negro whispered to me stories of his people.

This porter was an intelligent fellow, a college student who was staying out of school that one year to make some money with which to continue his studies; and he seemed to know what he was talking about. Among the many things he told me, he dwelt at some length upon the difficulty which his people were experiencing in entering into suitable vocations. "I really don't know why I'm going to college," he confessed. "Outside of a few professions such as that of a physician or a teacher among our own people, there is no place in society for a college-educated Negro. The Negro is looked upon as a servant, and the white man will not recognize him as anything else. Why, I have several friends right on this railroad who are college graduates and now are working as Pullman porters; and in the eyes of the white man they are no different from any other Negro porter." That statement surprised me then, and I thought proudly to myself: "Thank goodness, we Japanese in America are not like the Negroes. We are not a servile people." I listened to the porter's story with a detached, condescending sympathy. But since then I have been thinking and observing, and recently, in my own experience, I have come across incidents which are forcing me reluctantly to wonder very seriously if the new generation of American-born Japanese on the Pacific coast is not facing the same problem as the Negroes in finding suitable vocations.

A few months ago I met an American-born Japanese fellow who had just been graduated with high honors in electrical engineering from a university of the Middle West. Every other member of his class had been offered a position before graduation, by electrical concerns near the university, and upon graduation they had stepped right into their professional field. But this one Japanese, simply because of his race, could not get a position. He had drifted to Los Angeles, still seeking work, and the last I heard of him was that he had finally secured a minor position in a little third-rate electrical shop in Honolulu, which offered practically no chance for advancement.

I know of another American-born Japanese who was graduated after specializing in foreign trade in the college of commerce of the foremost university on the Pacific coast.

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But no American firm would employ him as long as white applicants were available, although they might not be quite so capable as he, and no Japanese firm in America was doing enough business to need a specialist in foreign trade, so for months this man was without work. Finally, the manager of the San Francisco branch offices of the T. K. K. Steamship Lines took pity on him and gave him a position as a clerk in his office, at seventy dollars a month. Cases like these could be multiplied indefinitely.

THE minor positions which these college graduates finally secured would not be so bad if there were some chance for advancement, for young graduates must all start at the bottom of the ladder. But there is very little chance to rise, for the Americans make no distinction between the second generation Japanese and the older Japanese, and we are all treated equally badly. It is impossible, at least on the Pacific coast, to imagine a Japanese in any high position which would require Americans to work under him. If, in order to avoid troublesome contact with American workers, we man a whole industry from top to bottom with Japanese, as we have tried to do in some fields, such as farming, fishing, and in some cases the hotel and restaurant business, the cries of "yellow peril" and "peaceful penetration" are immediately raised, and august state legislators feel it their duty to safeguard the commonwealth by taking drastic steps to oust us from our business by legislative measures. Or if we limit ourselves to businesses which cater to only the Japanese community, we are accused of being unassimilable and clannish, an undesirable element in American society. But however that may be, the Japanese community here in America is too small to support many businesses or professions by itself.

Our community is not self-sufficient. We can't stand off and live our own lives. We've got to find a place in American society in order to survive. And yet, no matter what our qualifications may be, evidently the only place where we are wanted is in positions that no American would care to fill—menial positions as house-servants, gardeners, vegetable peddlers, continually "yes, ma'am"-ing.

So, many of my friends are giving up the fight. "Why get an education?" they say. "Why try to do anything at all? Probably we were meant to be just a servile class. We can't help it, so let's make the best of a bad bargain." These constitute the new shiftless, pleasure-seeking second-generation element in the heretofore industrious, thrifty Japanese community. The nicer individuals who accept this defeatist philosophy are a little more subtle. Instead of trying to drown out their unhappiness with mere pleasure-seeking, they turn to the church and religion to afford them comfort and relief from their economic and social misery, and they hold a cheaply optimistic, goody-goody idea that if they stay in their place, work hard and please the Americans and remain happy in the position where God has placed them, surely the Christian Americans, out of the generosity of their hearts, will throw out to them a few more crumbs to ease their condition. Personally, I see no use in the cheap optimism of that type of religion which would deaden the ambitions and aspirations of those who suffer from social injustice, so as to make them contented with their lot.

I was urging a very close friend of mine the other day to go on to college. We were in high school together, and he made a name for himself by his outstanding abilities. But now he sees no use in continuing his studies. His attitude is—"What's the use of going to college? I have a little fruit-stand, and I give the American customers the kind of service they want. I have a comfortable income. I am happy. But you go on to college and get a lot of theories that make you dissatisfied with the condition of the Japanese here. You want to change things. But just the same, after graduation, you fellows all come around to my fruit store begging for a job." And what he said is apparently true. But if we are merely going to be a generation of fruit-stand keepers we are not going to be of much value to ourselves as a people, nor to the American community.

IF it is so hard for us to get into suitable vocations here, why don't we go back to Japan? we are frequently asked. Only a few days ago I was walking across the Quad on our campus with an American classmate, and he turned around to me and said: "Gee! you fellows are lucky! Look at the great advantage you American-educated fellows have over the rest of your people when you go back to the old country." I suppose his attitude reflects that of most Americans. "Well," I should like to ask, "what do you mean by going *back* to our old country? We've never been there in the first place." Most of us were born here, and we know no other country. This is "our old country" right here. As to having advantage over the people in Japan, we have the wonderful advantage of being quite unable to speak their language or read their papers, of being totally ignorant of their customs, history, or traditions, of holding different ideals, of thinking in different ways. Yes, we have as much advantage over the people in Japan as a deaf mute has over a man in possession of all his faculties. An American would have an infinitely easier time in Japan than we would, for they would excuse a foreigner if he made mistakes, but we, with our Japanese names and faces, would have to conform to their rigid standards or else be "queer." As for advantage in education, with some of the universities over there like Imperial, Waseda, and others ranking with the leading universities of the world, what chance have we products of the American rah-rah system against their mature scholars? The trouble with us is that we have been too thoroughly Americanized. We have attended American schools, we speak English exclusively, we know practically nothing of Japan except what an average American knows; our ideals, customs, mode of thinking, our whole psychology is American. Although physically we are Japanese, culturally we are Americans. We simply are not capable of fitting into Japanese society, so we are destined to remain here.

Yet, placed as we are between the devil and the deep sea, some of us are willing even to take the chance of going to Japan to seek our fortunes there. One of my friends, a chemist by training, unable to find a position here as such, is soon to leave to try his luck in adapting himself to Japan. Another, a girl about to be graduated from the university after specializing in secretarial training, said to me: "After I graduate, what can I do here? No American firm will employ me. All I can hope to become here is a bookkeeper in one of the little Japanese dry goods stores in the Little Tokyo section of Los Angeles, or else be a stenographer to the Japanese lawyer here." So now she is planning to go to Japan, where she has already been promised a position in a large shipping concern.

"If I should get married over there," she confided to me

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A Japanese college girl

A Chinese student-poet

A Chinese teacher

SIX PORTRAIT STUDIES OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION OF

jokingly, "there is nothing to prevent me from getting a prime minister for my husband; but if I remain here, I can marry only a gardener, or a cook, or at best a small merchant; or, if very fortunate, a dentist or a doctor." Among my friends, I know two other American-born Japanese girls who are soon going to Japan, both as teachers of English in the schools there. Some of the most valuable of the American-born Japanese are going to Japan and are being lost to America. No doubt they can do their work properly over there, but I am wondering what satisfaction they will get, living alone among strangers in a land that is entirely foreign to them, fighting against a whole social system into which they do not fit.

But others of our group intend to stay here and see the thing through. We don't intend to succumb to our environment. We believe that our duty is to stay here and make a distinctive contribution to American life just as other national groups have contributed to American life in the past. But in order to make this contribution we must be given the opportunity to develop ourselves normally. Our immediate outlook is of course very dark. But our policy is to get the best education we can, to hold to the highest ideals we know, and to keep ever before us the vision of what we might accomplish, even though for a while we cannot find vocations befitting our abilities. Then we shall be so dissatisfied with existing conditions that we shall be working continuously to change them. Only by such continuous hammering away will any change come about. Of course it is going to be hard on the individual who will have to plug away at an inferior position when he is really capable of something better. But this seems to be the only course which will bring any ultimate improvement. And to the credit of the American-born Japanese, many of them are following this policy, and a few of them are beginning to find their proper places in society.

For myself, I am frankly puzzled. I see some of my friends practically admitting defeat and settling down to a life of docile servitude. I see others of my friends so impatient that they are willing to take the desperate gamble of trying to adapt themselves to life in Japan. And I see still others buckling down to the long and difficult task of trying to change conditions. None of the three ways seems very inviting to me, but I suppose that my sympathy lies with the last group.

My desire is to choose as my life work some profession which will allow me to utilize my peculiar characteristics as a member of the second-generation Japanese in America to the best advantage in making a distinctive contribution to American life. In a general sort of way, I believe that I have found such a life work. I think of the fact of race conflict, of the white and the colored races clashing all over the world, but particularly over the Pacific Basin, of the occidental culture which has spread and expanded ever westward, and the oriental culture which has spread eastward until both have half encircled the globe and are now meeting across the Pacific Basin, of the challenge which that situation offers for interpreters who can bridge the gap. Then I think of myself, culturally a child of the Occident, understanding the Occident as my very own; but still racially a child of the Orient, very ignorant of the Orient, to be sure, but so constituted that with proper effort I could learn more of the Orient than could full Occidentals. Then here is my mission in life, to interpret the East to the West, and to contribute to America the knowledge accruing from a proper interpretation.

To prepare myself best, I am studying the history of the Orient, and especially the history of the relations between the Occident and the Orient. If I can learn oriental history and can teach it to Americans, I believe I will be rendering some service to America. In view of my preparation, I suppose that the most likely thing for me to do is to become an instructor in oriental history in some American university. But in view of the vocational situation of the Japanese in America, I cannot tell how I shall finally come out. In the end, I may have to seek out my college-despising friend and beg for a job at his fruit-stand. But in the meantime, there is nothing like at least trying for the biggest thing I can think of doing.

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A Chinese Y.W.C.A. worker

A Chinese secretary

A Chinese college graduate

ORIENTAL PARENTAGE IN CALIFORNIA By CLARA CAHILL PARK

Born American, But—

By WILLIAM C. SMITH

THE native-born Chinese and Japanese on the Pacific coast are Americans in everything but the shape of their lips, their almost lidless eyes, their oriental cheek bones and the color of their skins. Many of them are not recognizably Orientals; in the younger members of Japanese-American families the profile and the shape of the mouth seem very much closer to the American type than in the case of the older children, and some of the American-born Chinese boys are taken for Greeks and Italians.

But these slight physical markings are sufficient to throw these young Americans into a distinct caste. One of the men in San Francisco's Chamber of Commerce has a Japanese schoolboy working in his home, a boy who has been with the family for a number of years and has just entered college. "I have a daughter," he said, "who is about the same age as Taro. I cannot hope that she will ever marry a man who is as fine in every way as this Japanese boy is. So far my wife and I have not encouraged him to go out with American girls, but now that he is in college some of his classmates have asked him to go to their affairs, and my wife and I do not know what to advise. Suppose one of these college girls took a great liking to Taro, what would happen then?"

These young Americans belong to no fixed pattern; they have blossomed into a great profusion of varieties in the individualistic American air. Some of them are athletes, some are tong men, some are messiahs, some are feminists, some belong to those standard American types, the sheik and the flapper. In San Francisco, which is the oldest Chinatown of the coast, the native-born Chinese already control one of the voting districts of the municipality. But whatever their variety, most of these people are making the discovery that for them the world grows constantly smaller instead of larger. They are people of three fatherlands, one America, one China or Japan, and the last, where they find themselves grounded as in an inland bay, is a China-town or a Jap-town.

Many Chinese and Japanese fathers and mothers, realizing that their American adventure has had a far less successful issue than they hoped, consider the alternatives for their children of remaining here or living in the Orient. If American-born Orientals are ever to become acclimated in the Orient, they must learn not only the language but the manners of China and Japan. It is generally recognized now by both Chinese and Japanese that for this the language schools here are inadequate, and that the wisest course is to send their American-born children back to the home country for a couple of years of study. This results in a certain amount of shuttling back and forth across the ocean on the part of the American generation.

This movement is stronger among the Chinese than among the Japanese. Japan is too small to support any immigration from America. It is, moreover, difficult for any American to adapt himself to the conditions of social life in Japan in which manner and reserve play so significant a role. An American boy of Japanese parentage who went to Japan with a visiting baseball team sent a card to his high school teacher in which he said tersely, "The customs and manners of these people are very peculiar." The young Chinese find that the Chinese Youth Movement has made life a great deal freer for young people than it is in China-town, and that China has no lack of western movies, dance-floors and eating-places. Yet for them too the choice is difficult. A Chinese editor said:

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I have a family of five children. Although my children cannot vote I teach them about the Canadian government. I did not intend to send them to a Chinese school, but of late I have changed my mind. Suppose sometime, if feeling is so strong here, they will not be able to stay in Canada any longer. They will be cast out. Then what will they do? They can change their language and their habits, they can change everything but their faces. But suppose they have to go back to China? They would be foreigners, they would have no caste at all, because they did not know the language. And if they had to do just common factory labor here, they would be treated like the Negroes down South. I would like to send them all to college, but I do not think I will be able to afford it. They cannot get factory work because the working men do not want Chinese competition. What they can do is to go to some of the [Canadian] provinces further east.

While to the oriental parent the choice seems to lie between the Orient and America, to their children the choice seems a much narrower one. A questionnaire sent out by the Japanese Association of the United States to the native-born on the Pacific Coast showed that only 10 per cent of them had any idea of going back to Japan, and that this 10 per cent were not certain that they really wanted to go. The native-born boy and girl realize as their parents do not that for them the alternative lies between America and the ghetto life of one of the oriental quarters—ghettos so small as to be almost barren of stimulus.

The president of one of the Native Sons Associations in an old and very wealthy Chinatown on the Pacific Coast said, "There are so few of us here in Chinatown who are young or who have the same ideas. That makes life rather monotonous, because after all, one cannot see one's few friends every day."

The thrust into American life which these young people make by preference is made while they are in high school or college and so comparatively immature, and it meets stiff resistance. In Seattle there was quite a stir because a Japanese public school child in the fourth grade had taken the part of George Washington in a school play. The reporters would like to have made the teacher responsible for this choice, but actually it was the little boy's classmates who decided that he should play the role. In the high schools there is more feeling. Another Seattle boy of Japanese blood who was the valedictorian of his high school class received letters which warned him that he had better decide not to speak on commencement night. In the colleges distinctions are still more marked. An American graduate of Stanford University said, after several years' residence in Washington, D. C., "When I see American girls dancing with members of the Chinese and Japanese embassy I can't stand it or understand how they do it."

More important to the native-born boys and girls than the snubs in school are those they receive when they hunt a job. Even those who have special training find that it is of little value. One young man who specialized in engineering and who worked at it for a number of years gave up finally because a gang of railroad laborers would not accept him as a boss. He is now an official in a Chinese organization. Another young man who was recently graduated from the University of California, and who had taken his doctor's degree in chemistry, found that he could get no position in which he could use his technical knowledge. After doing common labor for a while in a factory, he decided to go into business.

Difficulties come also from the parents. In the smaller and less advanced Chinatowns, it is they who still make the marriage arrangements, so that American-born girls in the polo coats, fox furs and black hats that they affect may be bundled off on liners sailing for Canton, while American boys who have acquired the Valentino manner are married off to carefully brought up girls from the villages of Kwang Tung province. American-born Chinese have great admiration for one of their compatriots in China who went on a hunger strike rather than marry a man whom she didn't love, but they do not dare to show such open disrespect to their parents themselves.

"These American-born Chinese," said the owner of an Oregon lumber company, "aren't worth a damn." Many of the Pacific Coast Americans probably feel this way, believing that the second generation of Orientals are not going to be useful to them, in which belief they are quite correct. In the questionnaire sent out to native-born by the Japanese Association, it was found that although 65 per cent of the Japanese of California are on the land, less than 10 per cent of the Japanese children intend to stay on the farms. Not their own ambition but their parents' is lifting them bodily out of the laboring classes. In Cumberland, British Columbia, which is the only town in the United States or Canada where the Chinese and Japanese are mining underground, almost none of the second generation become miners. They are sent away to school and are prepared to enter business or one of the professions, while the sons of the Canadian miners go into the mines as a matter of course.

Part of the objection which is felt about the second-generation Orientals is due to their manner. The Chinese-Americans especially are candid, cocksure and without inhibitions. The reserve which their parents have had they have shed entirely. The native-born Japanese retain a little more of their traditional manner; the boys are respectful in the presence of older people and the girls deliberately keep to a certain Japanese formality because they appreciate its esthetic value. Native-born Chinese who have reached the age of thirty sometimes make this same deliberate return to Chinese manners. One Chinese, who has studied at eastern universities and is often taken for an Italian, said, "I wish I weren't so excitable, but I can't help it, I'm born that way. I like the Chinese way of being very calm and never showing one's feelings. It is so noble, this dignity and calm." In choosing between American and oriental manners, the native-born are making a choice between the culture of the Orient and the Occident. Their double life in Chinatown or Jap-town and in America forces the choice upon them in regard not only to manners, but to every kind of conduct. "When I gave up being just a conservative Chinese girl," said a recent college graduate, "it was very confusing. I had to think of both the Chinese and the American views about everything. But I soon found that too much of a strain and I gave it up. Now I apply both the Chinese and the American views only to the most important things that happen to me."

The Chinese and the Japanese Americans have their own organizations—chiefly the Chinese Native Sons Association and the Japanese American Loyalty League—in which their standards of conduct and public policies are being formulated. In such organizations these young people, finding that they get little real understanding from their parents, are trying at least to understand themselves and to face the problem of being at the same time Americans and a caste among Americans.

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Social Distance: A Measuring Stick

Gaging Racial Antipathies on the Coast—and Elsewhere

By EMORY S. BOGARDUS

"Keep your distance" is the ancient cry of distrust and fear. Here a Californian sociologist takes an ingenious scale of tests for measuring the distances we want our fellow-men to keep—distances which, by the same token, keep us from understanding them or being understood by them.

A MAN'S standing is one of his most precious possessions. If necessary he will fight to maintain his status—especially if he has reached it through years of struggle.

But standing usually includes social distance. Distance exists between the man who has status and those who have not yet "arrived," or achieved. If there be newcomers, especially from another race as immigrants, status and distance are everywhere co-existent. If these newcomers "move into" the neighborhoods or as successful competitors into the occupations of the "natives," then the latters' status is invaded and social distances jump to extreme lengths.

Like all pioneer regions, the Pacific coast has been a land of individualists. By his own initiative each person has striven to get ahead. Each has utilized whatever resources and techniques were at hand—without ordinary regard to social conventions, social status, or social distances. Thus the oriental laborer was indirectly invited to the Pacific coast. He could work well—and cheap. As such, he was "all right" as long as he stayed "in his place," and did not usurp in any way the white man's position economically, politically, or socially.

But presently one group of Orientals, the Chinese laborers, became numerous enough to attract attention to themselves as a race. American labor feared their competition and at once felt less friendly toward them. Social distances lengthened. Later, the Japanese laborer and farmer became numerous enough to cause the white farmer (who had been a leader in leasing land to the Japanese) to fear that the agricultural districts would become all Japanese. The movement the white farmer had started threatened to swamp him, and hence he grew hostile. Thus the lengthening of social distances went on.

Other well-meaning people, fearing that the increase of population by birth-rate as well as by immigration would lead to oriental political control, joined the protest. As shrewd manipulators of the populace, politicians led in the onslaught. Chinese or Japanese were no longer regarded as individuals but as members of "undesirable races." Personal relations were superseded by race relations, and the Chinese or Japanese individual was not judged according to personal worth but lumped together with all other members of his race—and scorned. Attention moved away from the individual, who as a rule had been envisaged on a friendly basis, to the group or race, which because of fear and dislike was given unfriendly treatment.

The social situation had been reversed. Instead of many social contacts occurring between Americans and Orientals on personal bases, the American's tendency was to draw back and to cut down the proportion of social contacts between friendly individuals of the two racial stocks. Indiscriminate treatment of Orientals, particularly the Japanese, has increased, and has been accompanied by a correlative decrease of understanding and intimacy. In consequence, such measures as the Exclusion Act of 1924, which shocked the friendship of Japan for the United States, became not only possible but quite natural.

Today, no matter how worthy an oriental immigrant on the Pacific coast may be, he is continually in danger of being embarrassed and of being made to feel that he is not wanted. The Oriental may walk into an American barber shop, and be met with "no service." If he insists, he may be charged $3.50 for a hair cut—an effective lesson in creating social distance. If he tries to better his housing status, he awakes the next morning to find a sign on the front lawn: "Japs not wanted." If he wishes to worship God with his fellows and builds a Christian church, white members of even the same Christian denomination may organize against him and threaten him, and under cover of darkness attempts may be made to destroy his house of worship. If his son, a citizen of this country in spirit as well as by law, is elected a student body president, the pupils may return to school the next day and demand a recall simply because their parents have reacted violently against the idea, as one boy put it, "of having a Jap for president." These illustrations, drawn from the data of the Pacific Coast Race Relations Survey, demonstrate the existence of social distance.

CAN social distance, like intelligence, be measured? In one of a series of experiments conducted by the writer, 248 persons, all adult educated citizens belonging chiefly to races of North European origin, were asked to indicate what races they felt the most antipathy for. In the results the Turk headed "the greatest antipathy for" column with 119 persons of the 248 putting him at the greatest social distance. The ten races put "farthest away" and the number of persons so voting in each instance are given in the following table:

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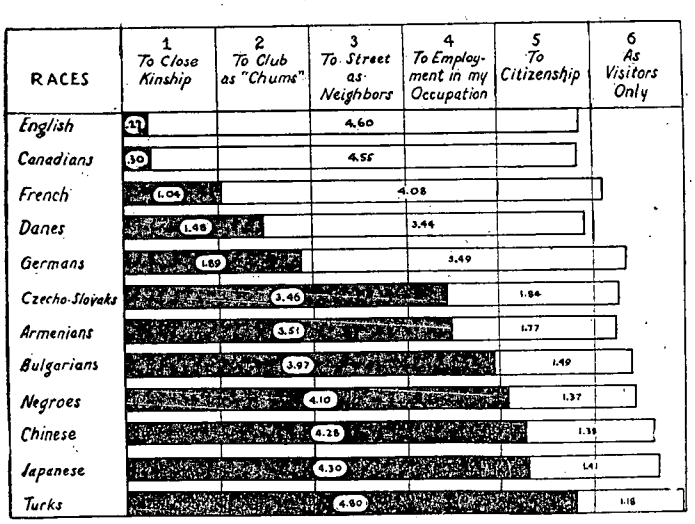
Turk	119	Jew (German)	42
Negro	79	Jew (Russian)	41
Mulatto	75	Mexican	41
Japanese	61	German	38
Hindu	44	Chinese	30

No races of north European origin appear in this list (except the Germans—due to war psychology), which is significant when it is considered that the 248 "judges" were of North European stock. Note that the Japanese comes fourth; the Chinese, tenth. Moreover, in the list of the races toward which the greatest friendliness was felt, the North European races occupy the first ten places. In fact, no antipathy (and no social distance) was expressed by a single one of the 248 "judges" for the following six groups: Canadian, Danish, Dutch, French-Canadian, Norwegian, and Scottish.

Further experiments have been conducted in an attempt to arrive more accurately at the measurement of social distance. Several hundred people on the coast were asked to rate the Japanese, Chinese, Hindus, Mexicans, Armenians, and thirty-five other races according to the primary reactions that they experienced toward each race. For example, would they willingly intermarry with the Japanese; would they like to have Japanese as chums in their fraternal groups; would they like to have Japanese live as their neighbors on their street; would they like to have Japanese in their occupation (as possible competitors); in this country as citizens; in this country simply as visitors; or would they exclude Japanese from the country altogether? This arrangement of choices is one of decreasing intimacy and understanding—from intermarriage to total exclusion—as determined by fifty judges.

The accompanying chart gives the arithmetic means of the ratings per race of 110 Americans. It will be seen, for example, that the Chinese are put 4.28 groups away from complete intimacy and understanding, and that the English are put only 0.27 of a group away. In the first case, therefore, the social distance index is 4.28 as compared with 0.27 in the second instance.

Moreover, the Chinese are admitted to 1.38 groupings,



The measuring stick applied by Nordics: how 110 Americans would treat twelve kinds of aliens. The black bar indicates the social distance before contact is willingly permitted the race in question. The white bar represents the range of social contacts permitted. The figures measure both, in terms of the units of relationship listed across the top of the chart.

and the English to 4.60 groupings. Thus, the social contact indices are 1.38 and 4.60 for the Chinese and English respectively.

The Chinese, thus, are doubly handicapped in the United States as compared with the English. They are not only put at a far greater social distance, but at this distance are accorded contacts in a much smaller number of groups.

WHEN we group by occupations the 110 Americans whose racial reactions are reported here, we find them distributed almost equally among three occupations: business, social work, and teaching. On the whole the business men recorded greater social distance feelings toward practically all races than did social workers, and would admit them to a somewhat lesser percentage of social groups. Through personal interviews with the members of the two occupational groups the fact comes out that since the first is in what one person called a "getting" occupation and the second in a "giving" occupation, the first, or business men, contact immigrants at lower human levels than do social workers and hence come to feel less friendly toward them.

Although further data are necessary, it appears rather clear that social workers put the various races "further away" than do public school teachers. Personal interviewing brings out the fact that while both professions are primarily of a "giving" nature, the members of the first are dealing primarily with adults, of the latter, with children; and that adults are "harder" to deal with than children. Thus, social workers make their racial contacts on a somewhat less pleasing human nature level than do teachers, and hence experience greater social distance feelings.

THE social distances at which Americans put immigrants, furthermore, vary not only with the occupations of the Americans but also with their age and sex, and with the section of the United States in which they live. Moreover, the American's social distance reactions may vary from time to time, even from day to day. These changes are to be expected; they occur as one's experiences with the members of other races change.

The 110 Americans report that in a five year period they have undergone changes in their opinions of (and attitudes toward) immigrants. The following table gives a record of these changes with reference to sample races.

CHANGES IN OPINION AND DISTANCE (110 PERSONS) IN FIVE YEARS

Races (samples)	*More Favorable*	*Less Favorable*	*No Change*
Armenians	23	9	79
Chinese	19	10	81
Germans	6	34	70
Hindus	3	11	96
Japanese	23	19	68
Mexicans	15	22	73
Scotch	0	0	110
Turks	1	16	93

The relatively large figures in the third column indicate that changes in opinion regarding races take place slowly—more so than would be anticipated. Through personal interviews "no changes" are the result either of no racial contacts and experiences, or else of having settled convictions for or against various races. In the latter instance established habitual reactions are adamant to ordinary racial experiences.

The "more favorable" changes, (*Continued on page* 206)

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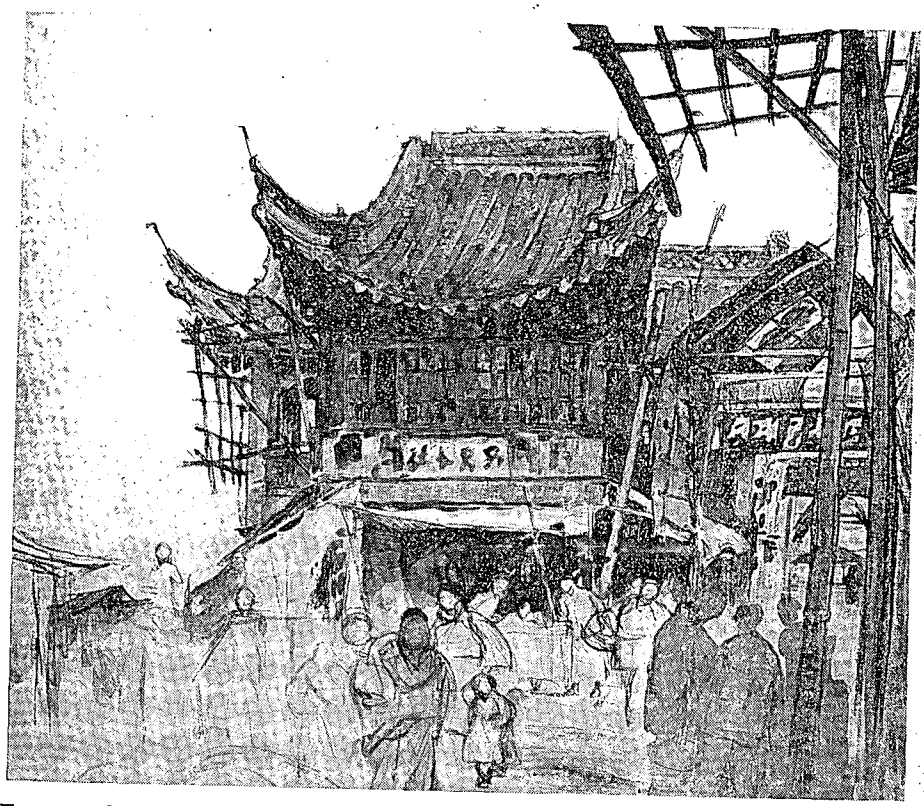

From a drawing by C. Leroy Baldridge

NANKING

The West in the East

FOR the puzzled Japanese schoolboy, or the perturbed California land-owner, the problem of the Oriental in America is one of overwhelming significance. But in the larger view the Orientals who have penetrated the western lands and the American missionaries and oil-salesmen who have pushed into Asia are merely the fringe of new and more wholesale contacts in the shrinking world. The articles which follow deal with those larger adjustments between the people to east and west of the Pacific, with the changing attitudes of the Orientals in their own lands, with the cross currents of politics across the ocean which are both emphasized and clarified by the racial clashes in our own coast states.

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Japanese Students in Japan

Sketched by C. LEROY BALDRIDGE

Student fun in Kioto, the Paris of Japan

A student

Western ideas and radical movements have influenced this boy

A girl student at a finishing school

A public school girl

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Western Windows to the East

By CHESTER H. ROWELL

THE American Pacific Coast is the window through which one world looks out upon another. And on what we have eyes to see through that window, rests the future of the human race.

Before the literal window where this is written stretches a panorama rivalled in beauty by few scenes on earth, and comparable in significance only with that other where—

> The mountains look on Marathon,
> And Marathon looks on the sea.

It is the view from the Berkeley hills, looking out through the Golden Gate. Here is visibly the final portal of the white man's world; the entrance doorway to the storied East. It is the goal of all the ages. Out of the East and the past our eldest fathers came, driven by an ever-westward urge. Celt and Teuton, Roman, Hellene and Slav, they flowed in successive waves across Europe, and their descendants braved the Atlantic, conquered the wilderness, crossed mountains and plains, and finally at the Golden Gate reached the end of the journey which is the story of our race. Beyond is again East, and another world which, except as visitors, we can never penetrate. The Gate marks the end in time of the oldest fact in history, and the boundary in space between two worlds. Around it centers the whole problem of the future. Through it shall flow the commerce of goods and of ideas, and at it shall stop—or shall not stop—the migrations of peoples. Surely no other spot on earth so opens to the imagination all that man is, and was, and shall be; the story of his conquest of the planet; the challenge of his conquest of himself. What Marathon is—looking backward, the Gate is—looking forward.

The ancient world faced inward, like a Greek house, on the Mediterranean. The modern European world has faced outward, on the Atlantic. America has looked about, on its continental domain. Meantime, half the human race was living, across the Pacific, as it were on another planet. The relative separateness of those two worlds has conditioned all the past; their contact, on a globe shrunk too small to hold them longer apart, is the condition of all the future.

ALL this is academically familiar to everybody. But in the West it has always had also the vividness of personal experience. No Californian has ever been able to forget that the Orient was just the other side of the Golden Gate, and that it might easily come as an overwhelming flood this side. The pioneers of 1849 found some Chinese already on the ground, and the opportunities of the mines, and of work in the new mining communities, soon attracted many more. There were 325 Chinese immigrants in 1849; 450 in 1850; 2,700 in 1851, nearly all contract laborers, and a whole flood of 18,400 in 1852. There was much opposition to permitting them to work in the mines, and some agitation to exclude them altogether. In the earliest years the attitude toward the Chinese was largely a part of the general opposition to all foreigners, but by 1860 it became a fear of the Chinese themselves, on account of their low standard of living and the realization that there were unlimited hordes of them in their own country. In 1862 Governor Leland Stanford took strong ground in his inaugural message against "Asia, with her numberless millions," which "sends to our shores the dregs of her population."

Soon afterward, however, Stanford himself was importing these Chinese by the thousands to work in the construction of the transcontinental railway. On its completion they were discharged into the general labor market, just at the time when the opening of transportation lowered wages and prices. Followed Denis Kearney's "sand lot" agitation of the '70's, and finally, in 1882, the Exclusion Act. Since then, hostility to the remaining Chinese has gradually lessened, and the few now left are decidedly popular.

By a curious coincidence, the law of Japan permitting the emigration of its people followed almost immediately on the law of America forbidding the immigration of Chinese. The Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1882 and the Japanese emigration law in 1885. By 1890 there were some 2,000 Japanese in the United States, and perhaps 2,000 a year came until 1900, when 12,626, mostly from Hawaii, suddenly arrived. In the next six years some 75,000 came, nearly half of them from Hawaii. Then the Gentlemen's Agreement checked the direct migration of laborers, but did not prevent the coming of large numbers of women to be their wives and the consequent birth of a new population of American citizens of Japanese race. A more serious Japanese problem had taken the place of the disappearing Chinese one.

The pressure for legal and other discriminations against the Japanese has been more persistent and determined, if less excited, than ever against the Chinese. Beginning with 1900, "nuisance laws" were proposed in almost every California legislature, accompanied, usually, by a much more intelligent alien land law. Successive Presidents intervened from Washington against the nuisance laws, and when these were dropped, the agitators lost interest in the alien land law. Roosevelt practically threatened war on California, in language so reckless that his California friends, in after years, avoided embarrassing him by mentioning it. However, California gave him, at the next election, the largest majority it had ever given any candidate for any office, and he, educated by the experience, negotiated the Gentlemen's Agreement which ended the wholesale immigration of laboring men. Finally President Wilson, at the beginning of his term, supplemented the usual intervention by sending in person his secretary of state. Bryan, in opposing both the nuisance and the alien land bills, aroused such reaction that the alien land bill, which had been moribund in its discriminatory features, was made an administration policy by Governor Hiram W. Johnson, and passed overwhelmingly.

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Since then the people, by direct vote, have strengthened the measure so as to prohibit the leasing as well as the ownership of land by "aliens ineligible to citizenship," and to prevent evasion by the subterfuge of guardianship of estates ostensibly owned by American-born Japanese children.

During the earlier years of this development, Eastern sympathy was generally not with California. The potential menace was not realized, and on its immediate aspects the problem of a hundred thousand aliens of an equal race seemed too absurdly small—as compared with the already existing race problem of ten million Negroes—to permit a single state to risk the peace of the nation on it. Gradually, national sentiment changed, culminating finally in the present immigration law by which for the first time the Japanese are included in the general Asiatic ban.

California, in this respect, has been merely the most conspicuous example of a policy adopted by every state inhabited by a predominantly European population around the whole rim of the Pacific. Oregon and Washington, whose oriental population is actually small, but whose people are acutely conscious of the potentialities of its increase, have also adopted discriminatory laws, and have joined California in leadership of the movement for a national exclusion policy. British Columbia has had its own anti-oriental policy, and has practically made a similar policy by the Dominion its price for the continued union of Canada. Canadian law excludes Chinese, and saves Japanese sensibilities by a Gentlemen's Agreement which amounts practically to the same thing. Australia and New Zealand have laws which are non-discriminatory on paper, but amount in administration to a complete exclusion of oriental immigration. The Spanish-speaking states of America are not of predominantly European population, but even they, wherever the problem becomes practical, tend to welcome European and to discourage or reject Asiatic immigration. Whatever the truth or the right of the matter may be, there is no doubt what the European peoples around the Pacific unanimously think of it. They regard their borders as a racial frontier, which they are determined to maintain inviolate.

BECAUSE discriminations based on physical race touch human pride at its most sensitive point, there has been a tendency to protest that these exclusions are based on economic and not on racial grounds. In part, this is true. All the pressure for migration from the Orient is economic. The oriental peoples do not come to us because they like us, but because their lands are crowded and ours have room; because we are rich and they are poor. We, in turn, object to them because their standard of living is low; because they can overwork and underlive us, and by that defeat us in economic competition. The workingmen objected to the Chinese, and then to the Japanese, when they were competitors. The small farmers objected when the Japanese began buying land. The large landowners, who want cheap and docile labor, do not object even now, but would prefer Chinese to Japanese. The merchants' objection was that "they send their money home." Now that the alien land laws are driving the Japanese back to the cities, the workingmen talk of relaxing those laws. Wherever in the world there is an oriental working population, there is no room for a white one. And even where orientals are fewer, they monopolize whatever occupations they enter. No one else can compete with them. All these motives are expressly economic. And economic causes doubtless also underlie much of the feeling which is more consciously racial.

But there is also an impulse which is more than economic, and is expressly and biologically racial. Not in all the occupations into which Asiatics go do they displace workers of European race. In California the Chinese largely did work which there were no white workers to do, and the Japanese have improved lands which we left waste, and developed products which we overlooked. There is no economic conflict here, but there is still hostility. Into the places vacated by departing Orientals now flow, not Americans, but Mexicans. Nobody objects, because nobody else wants those jobs. Tropical Australia is retarded in its development because it needs labor which British immigrants will not do; yet it refuses, on racial grounds alone and to its economic loss, to admit Chinese immigrants eager to do it. When Japanese move into a city neighborhood, in California, Americans move out, not because there is any economic competition, but because they will not live where persons of a different physical race live. American farmers sell out, when Japanese buy their neighbors' farms, because they will not have their children in a school where the other children are mostly Japanese. There is nothing else against these children. They are just as bright as American children, speak as good English, and have the same manners and impulses; they are American citizens; and of course there is nothing economic in which to compete. It is sheer racial caste. But it makes the American farmer move out, even at an economic loss.

"Temporary prejudice, based on ignorance," the idealists say. But is that all? Consider what would happen if this situation, now confessedly within manageable limits, were allowed to increase by any extended mass migration. Unlimited immigration would, of course, simply annex our western states to the Orient. Just the annual increase in Japan's population, exported to California, would in five years duplicate the present white population. One per cent of China would swamp the western half of America. And neither of these quantities would be sufficient to affect the situation in the oriental homelands at all. The resultant decrease in the death rate would leave the remaining population unchanged. The Orient is a limitless human ocean. No pumping process could change its level; but it might easily flood the lands on which it was discharged.

Of course, no one proposes this. The age of mass migrations is over. The discovery of America extended it a century or two, but now we have again reached the point of static distribution of the main populations. Geographically, there are no more worlds to conquer. The problems of overpopulation must henceforward be solved by other means than wholesale emigration. America has now adopted this policy towards Europe, and even if there were no discrimination against Asia, similar drastic limitations would still apply there. Emigration to America can never again solve any major problem of either Europe or Asia.

WHY, then, discriminate? Some of the temporary reasons are economic, but the only permanent one is racial. If we were to continue to admit Asiatic immigrants in even such numbers as we can readily and permanently accept from Europe, there would grow up among us still another large group distinguished from the main body of the population by the hereditary and ineffaceable marks of physical race. And that, ultimately, would mean

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either amalgamation by general intermarriage, or else its prevention by the social curse of caste. Even the present small group promises its difficulties, but, if it remains small, we can live with its problem whether we solve it right or wrong, or not at all. Its cruelties will be individual, and its social consequences limited. If we allowed it to grow large enough to be serious, our whole history teaches that we would solve it wrong.

We have learned our racial lesson in a bad school. Americans have had to deal with two races, both at the extreme of physical and cultural difference. After three centuries of that contact, the Indian is dead and the Negro, first a slave, is now a caste. Like most humans, we are mentally lazy, and think with our memories. We would therefore tend, automatically, to use these ready-made methods on the new problem of a proud and equal race, to which they do not apply at all. In the first generation there is little difficulty. We do not now apply the caste line to the educated minority of these races, and it is not noticed as to the others because it corresponds to a cultural line also, which both sides recognize. But that cultural line will disappear, most of it in one generation and all of it in two. The grandchildren of these Orientals will be, in every spiritual and cultural respect, exactly as American as the descendants of the Mayflower. Every difference will have gone except the physical one. But that, being hereditary, will last forever, unless obliterated by general intermarriage. In that case, it would make a new race, neither European nor Asiatic. This is the reason why the physical, in its relation to this problem, is more important than the spiritual or cultural. It alone is permanent.

The result would be to draw a caste line right down the middle of western American life. And that is a curse which we ought not to hand down to future generations of American citizens by admitting now the ancestors who would bequeath it to them. We have enough of caste already. It has made a farce of democratic institutions and obstructed social and economic progress in one of the fairest sections of our country. Caste means injustice and cruelty to the individual and stagnation to society. Yet, throughout the world, wherever two races have lived long together without amalgamating physically, caste has been the result. On the two sides of an international line, the rivalry of races makes for human progress. But across a caste line, within the nation, it makes for immobility. And, under our institutions, it makes for political confusion, also. Democratic institutions may be conceivable which could operate on a basis of race and caste groups, but we have not devised them. Eastern Europe, despairing of the solution, is escaping it by wholesale and murderous deportations, to undo the interminglings of past migrations and homogenize national populations. The only right way to meet such a problem is to stop it before it begins. We shall probably blunder forever, in a hopeless, aimless series of errors, with the race and caste problem we already have. We owe it to a prouder race not to involve it in that confusion.

What happens when two such irreconcilable problems impinge is demonstrated in Kenya, in East Africa. There the European population had thought it necessary to draw certain caste lines on the Negroes. A large immigration had also come from India, of people who were under hard enough caste disabilities in their own country, but who were not willing to submit to the imputations of Negro caste. Neither would the whites have cared to impose these lines on the Indians, if they had been alone. But they did not dare, in the presence of the Negro, to discriminate in favor of the Indian. And the repercussion of this injustice shakes India, and threatens the stability of the British Empire.

THE alternative to caste is racial amalgamation. Whether the product of that would be better or worse than its ancestral races the biologists are still undetermined. Suppose, as is quite possible, that the final answer should be that it would be better. To the instinct of our people, this would have exactly nothing to do with the case. They regard race mixture as a sort of interracial adultery. The historic purpose of the laws against individual adultery is not so much to protect morals as to guarantee to each man that his children are his own. Now, just as a matter of man-breeding, it could be demonstrated in most cases that better offspring could have resulted from a more selected sire. Nobody denies that, as a general proposition. But any attempt to put it into practice in a particular family is liable to result in immediate manslaughter. So with any scientific demonstration that a mixed race might be better than our own. We would not trouble to argue the case. We would merely meet any effort to put it into general practice by fighting.

So long as that instinct exists—and it will outlast this generation and the next, which are the only ones over which we have jurisdiction—the answer to race migration is caste, with all its consequences, political, social, economic and personal, and with all its menace to the peace of nations. And all the frontier peoples of the Pacific feel that they are the outposts of the white man's world, to protect it from the intrusion of this evil. Unless the racial frontier is drawn on the borders of the Pacific, there is nowhere else to draw it horizontally. It would be drawn, instead, vertically down the middle of our institutions, to rend them into segments with which the world has not yet learned how to deal.

THIS is the situation looking outward, from our side of the window. But that window will be useless unless we use it to perceive that there is also another side, looking in.

Just across the narrowing ocean stream on which that window looks dwells half the human race. It includes a group of related civilizations which early reached a high culmination and then for ages stood still. Meantime we went forward, then backward, and then, in the past few centuries, forward again with an increasing speed which, in the two newest generations, has passed all bounds. The two worlds were isolated. We forgot them and they ignored us. Our generation broke that isolation and the coming generation must reap the consequences of that break. We stand at the parting of the ways.

First came Japan. In seventy-five years—and most of it in fifty years—Japan had to catch up with all we had done in five centuries and also to keep up with the headlong speed with which the momentum of those centuries was hurling us through these fifty years. And Japan did it! Once before, in its earlier history, Japan had leaped from barbarism to Chinese culture in a single generation. Now, in another leap, it passed in one lifetime from medieval feudalism to become one of the most modern of the five Great Powers of the twentieth century world. No other such dizzy progress is recorded in the annals of peoples.

China's turn came next. Just now, the political situation seems one of hopeless chaos, without even the moral standard among leaders (*Continued on page* 210)

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The Last of the Magic Isles

By WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

Going west to the East, the first stopping place beyond the Golden Gate is Hawaii. The genial journalist of Emporia went there last summer to attend the Institute of Pacific Relations, of which President Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford Unversity was president. What he found there may or may not be lacy foam on the crest of heaving breakers, but it is at least a part of the Pacific picture that gladdens the eye

WITH one exception, all over the world the so-called race problem is acute. Everywhere into the blue eyes of the men of the northern ruling race of today, the black shoe-button eyes of the brown, black and the yellow men of the earth and their mulattos are looking with suspicion and rage and bitterness. They are accusing eyes, these black eyes of the dark-skinned men. Something we northwesterners are doing angers the people of the South and East. Our politics, our business, our religion all are tinctured with this deep vexation which glows in the dark eyes of the people of the East and the Near East. What is it? No one knows exactly. England is meeting it in Egypt and in India. France is meeting it in Africa. America is meeting it in Mexico and again in the Philippines. And surely it bodes no good for civilization as it is now organized on this planet.

The one place where that injustice does not glare in the black eyes at the blue is in the territory of Hawaii.

HAWAII is the only place in America where the things that can't happen do. It is America's trick territory. When the Institute of Pacific Relations met in Honolulu last summer, men said:

"Well here comes trouble. You cannot get two hundred men and women from all over the Pacific together—Americans, Japanese, Britishers of various sorts, as say New Zealanders who are a shade pink, Canadians who are deeply conservative, and Australians who are 100 per cent white, along with Chinese who have Bitter Burning Wrongs, and Koreans who have Gaping Wounds of Oppression, and Filipinos who also have their Grievances—you cannot get this group together without a fight."

Yet, after two weeks of frank conferences, two and three times a day, the Institute ended in a love feast. The thing that could not happen happened. Hawaii is the last of the magic worlds where they rub the wishing ring and get their heart's desires.

The appearance of the white race upon the islands has not broken the sorcerer's charm. At the Volcano House on the Island of Hawaii, watching the dancers at the evening hop, a most sophisticated performance, flashy with Tux and gorgeous gowns, you will meet an old timer who tells you that he stood beside the Hawaiian priestess fifty years ago—a large fat lady of color who had to be brought to the scene on a litter, and saw her throw a pig into the flowing lava which threatened the destruction of the fields, work her enchantment by incantations and stop the flow of the lava as it reached her feet!

Only a few months ago a ceremony was staged upon the brim of the crater of Kilauea that just could not have happened, but it did. For a year and more the volcano had been inactive. The natives dread inaction on the part of their volcanoes. So do the owners of excursion boats, and the hotel keepers of the islands. The scientists also like to see the volcanoes releasing their bile; they vaguely believe that a healthy volcanic eruption helps to prevent earthquakes. Science often follows the hunch of primitive man, profitably. But the hotel men and boat owners had more definite reasons for desiring activity in the crater. It is "scenic" and profitable. Anyway, the hotel keepers and boat owners cooperated with the natives—all good Christians so far as that goes—and after much advertising in the Honolulu papers led an ancient Hawaiian pagan priest to the crater's rim to exorcise Madam Pelee, the goddess of the Volcano. Two thousand people, attracted by the advertising, and patronizing the excursion boats and hotels, gathered on the rim.

There was an ancient hula dance by the pretty native women, and after a prayer by a native Christian minister, the old priest of the forgotten gods mounted the platform upon the crater's rim. The two thousand tourists stood giggling but awestruck. Even if the old priest did wear Christian trousers, he was challenging the unknown. He carried mystic bundles and a strange bottle of white, powerful medicine. Native princesses in yellow mantles faked from each of the Hawaiian islands, gathered about the platform upon the rim. The low incantation of the old man began. He held aloft his mystic bundle and his strange white medicine, when Z-U-M—W-O-WIE, an awful roar was heard, followed by a cry of Christian consternation and the rush of a panic. A hundred thousand tons of cold lava from another eruption caved in, fell down to the crater, created terrible clouds of dust, while the giggling tourists, in terror, trampled over themselves rushing out of the lava field onto the firm earth. The skedaddling Christians would have said the thing could not happen; but there it was; a coincidence of course—but interesting.

THE members of the Institute of Pacific Relations witnessed another occurrence in what might be called reverse English. Theirs was a peaceful and harmonious

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gathering even if it was conscientiously candid. And one day a ship in the Pacific picked on its aerial this choice bit of faking:

"The following is the speech of Kenzo Takayanagi, professor of College of Law, Imperial University, Tokyo, Japan, which caused the riot in the Institute of Pacific Relations, in which the American delegates attacked the Japanese and Professor Takayanagi was carried bleeding from the room."

It could have happened, by all the rules of yellow journalism, but it didn't. Nothing happened at the Institute.

And that was the strange and pleasant thing about the Institute. The first thing the members of the Institute decided upon when they met was to pass no resolutions, to submit no findings of opinion, to stand for no position upon anything. Their theory was that if ever a resolution was passed in the Institute, the next meeting would be crowded with crank propagandists, hurrying across the broad waters of the Pacific loaded to the gills with canned resolutions to submit. The next Institute would be crowded with orators and spellbinders urging resolutions, rather than be filled with earnest, honest ladies and gentlemen seeking information and not opinion. And of all the curious things that have happened in Hawaii, that Institute last summer was unique. It did not appeal to publicity because in a time of bandits, bluster and bloodshed on the first page of the newspapers, the Institute offered no possible approach to manslaughter. Imagine a group of one hundred and fifty or two hundred men and women, gathered from all around the Pacific—white, brown, yellow and the mauve tints. Anywhere else in the world such a group would represent somebody, but in Honolulu they didn't. They represented themselves. So there was frank talk. The Chinese told the white man and the Japanese what the Chinese thought of extraterritoriality and the partition of China. The Japanese told the world of their aspirations politically, industrially, artistically and commercially. The Americans told the brown and yellow people that our doors were closed, nailed up and everlastingly sealed against immigration from races with lower standards of living. And then, by way of having a friend break the news, the New Zealanders and Australians told America that if there is any problem of the Pacific, America is the problem of the Pacific. The news was disconcerting. It seems that the brown and the yellow and the white folks in the Pacific do not care for American swank. They don't like the way we play Providence to what we are pleased to call the inferior races. But because Honolulu is a place wherein the impossible happens, we American members of the Institute learned something of America's true place in the universe. We are regarded as a benevolent pest, and sometimes not too obviously benevolent.

Of course the thing which interested the Institute of Pacific Relations was fundamentally the race problem. There were hours of candid talk about the race problem in the Institute in which all the races participated. It simmered down to a discussion of economic standards. The social end of it, the "Do you want your daughter to marry a Chinaman?" phase vanished early, somewhat because there were so many high caste Japanese and Chinese present who had the same compunctions against their daughters marrying beneath their stations in the White Race! But generally because it became obvious that race antipathies are for the most part economic; the fear of the lower standards of living of the yellow and brown races affecting by competition the economic status of those near the bread line in the white race.

This discussion was going at full tilt on the Fourth of July, and on that day, out of a graceful appreciation of the British and Americans, the Chinese and Japanese suggested a half holiday. Some of the delegates went over to the other islands, and there, particularly on the Island of Hawaii in the town of Hilo, they saw the most interesting practical demonstration of the race problem as it works in a white man's country near the tropics.

CONSIDER the town of Hilo, eleven thousand people, mostly Asiatic. Only a few white faces adorn the streets. The main street is like Commercial Street in Emporia, a town of twelve thousand, good, substantial, two and three story brick buildings bordering a brick paved thoroughfare. And in the stores, kept largely by Asiatics, is all the merchandise of the American continent retailed at continental prices. Everything advertised in the magazines is in Hilo, and the Asiatic population, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos and Hawaiians, are buying those American goods and thereby setting up the externals of an American civilization. In the Boston Store where the pretty Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian and half-caste clerks will show their customers the same kind of American ready-to-wear dresses that the white aristocracy wears from New York to San Francisco, the proprietor's name under the sign looks like a laundry ticket. One price prevailed in the town and you might as well try to jew a clerk in Marshall Field's, or Tiffany's, as to try to jew the Asiatic clerks in Hilo.

It took three days for our Asiatic citizens in Hilo to vent their patriotism on the Fourth of July, three days of gorgeous parades, dances, regattas, races, base-ball games, concerts, feasts and continuous festivities from morning until late at night. During the first gala day, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce of Hilo contributed the fire works. The literary exercises were in charge of the American Legion. On the second day the native sons of Hilo joined the 100 per cent American parade with scarcely a white face in the long line of motor cars that passed down the main street of the town; native Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and men of many mixed bloods, proud of their 100 per cent American heritage! It would be good to see that parade march down the street of many a southern and western city on the mainland proud of its 100 per cent heritage—with all the shades of the racial rainbow in their faces! How would the Ku Klux Klan laugh off that parade? And in the territory of Hawaii more than 25 per cent of the marriages are across race lines. There they were, these Asiatics, under the benevolent control of a white Caucasian population, scarcely 15 per cent of the total.

At night there was a lantern parade of Chinese, in which the American Legion paraded beside the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, the Elks, the Boy Scouts and the native sons of Hilo, all 100 per cent Americans and 90 per cent colored in some way or another with the somber blood of the Pacific. Later at night a beautifully lighted sampan parade swirled around the Bay of Hilo like a great glowing colored dragon, celebrating in its gorgeous oriental way the glorious

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spirit of '76 and the Surrender of Cornwallis. In the interim, the Hawaiians, always mindful of the principles of democracy, released their patriotic fervor by giving a "Grand Luau," a native feast in which there were pigs barbecued in pits, fish baked in the leaves of tropical trees, chicken cooked in cocoanut oil, yams baked in the earth, poi in great bowls full, and not a knife or fork or spoon at the feast. All hands, white, yellow and brown, dipped in and enjoyed life, while they were twisting the British lion's tail just as they were doing all over the mainland on the glorious Fourth, rejoicing at the deeds of Washington, the aspirations of Jefferson, and the achievements of our Constitution.

Of course this gorgeous spectacle, the lighted sampans, the green leaves of the cocoanut tree woven into hats upon the un-Nordic heads of the 100 per cent American Native sons of Hilo, the "Grand Luau" where the white man poked his finger in the poi alongside the ringed, spotted, streaked and striped, doesn't solve the race problem in the world. But these things do show how peacefully the races can get along living together when there is no economic friction. The Institute of Pacific Relations in the academic shades of Punuhau in Honolulu was tackling a problem in theory which Hilo was tackling in practise. The shiny brass and red fire wagons from the city fire department at Hilo following the Hawaii County Band down the main street of the town leading the parade of three thousand "native sons of Hilo" did offer a spectacle which might be called Exhibit A in the race problem as it is worked out under the control of a benevolent white oligarchy.

"THE benevolent white oligarchy" is the re-agent which produces the solution of the problem in Hawaii. There is no friction in the race problem because most of the whites are not in competition with the races from Asia who live upon the lower standard. The white man, speaking broadly and allowing for several thousand exceptions, is of the ruling and governing class in Hawaii. Whatever form of political government may be, it is largely in the hands of the whites; the Hawaiians take the secondary political places on the Island without seeming to have serious ambitions for major jobs. The actual government of Hawaii is in the hands of a white industrial and financial oligarchy. Again speaking broadly and allowing for many exceptions, this oligarchy is the second and third generation from the missionaries of the first half of the nineteenth century who came to Hawaii out of New England. Generally they brought with them two important pieces of baggage: first, the Congregational theology, a rather broad concept of God as the impersonal governing principle of the universe, and second, a taste for property which even missionary zeal could not breed out of their children. There was no question but that the old missionaries of the 1820's, '30's, '40's and '50's came without purse or script and were consecrated souls. They acquired no property. This world's goods did not interest them—but their children were Yankees. With commendable eagle eye for the main chance, these children acquired the arable land in the Islands, and their grandchildren and their great grandchildren established the sugar plantations, erected the sugar mills, planted the pineapple fields, built the great canneries, the hotels, the public utilities, the wharves, the boats to the mainland. The commerce of the Island is theirs. Of course, the years brought a few newcomers and if they were thrifty and honest, the newcomers have thrived.

But the big important distinctive thing which the ruling oligarchy has done is to maintain Christian ideals in the Island. It is a benevolent oligarchy, one of the few in the world. And by benevolent one does not mean that these commercial captains of the Island go around piously doing good works. More or less their piety is submerged, but in spite of its submersion their good works are greatly in evidence as enlightened self interest. They have restraints and restrictions, these oligarchs, in handling the business of the Island. Everywhere one sees welfare work, clinics, hospitals, playgrounds, schools—multitudes of schools—and excellent school laws admirably enforced even for the poorest coolie children on the Island.

So an odd thing has happened, a grotesque thing which must make our English cousins in the colonizing business smile wisely. No benevolent despot is your English colonizer. He is more patriotic than benevolent. He is colonizing for the glory of England in India, in Egypt, in Africa. He is after cheap labor to produce dividends for English share-holders. He knows that when the native goes to school, the native is hard to exploit. Hence the British are not so excited about schools in their dependencies as the Americans are. But these benevolent, Congregational rulers have allowed their altruism to affect their profits. As one racial group after another has come to the Island as coolies —the Chinese, the Koreans, the Japanese, and now last of all the Filipinos—the welfare work which these benevolent oligarchs have instituted, the schools, the clinics, the hospitals, the playgrounds, the employment agencies, the churches, the fair trading at the company stores, the ideal of a decent, minimum wage, have taken one group after another out of the coolie class into a trading class! The thing that has happened in Honolulu to the Asiatics is comparable with what happened in Boston to the Irish. Coming as common laborers they have become, first, skilled laborers, then merchants, and their children are going into the professions. And the fact that a fourth of the marriages on the Island are across race lines indicates how much self-respect these benevolent oligarchs have unconsciously injected by their institutions into the minds and hearts of these who were brought to the Island in another day and generation as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.

AND now this picture must have a quick shading down. The white men in Hawaii are not mushy idealists. They would break a strike as ruthlessly as Judge Gary. Organized labor has small toe-hold in the Island. Agitators there are too, among the Japanese, but many races and many tongues among the actual laboring classes make the agitator's work difficult, and naturally the oligarchy is happy about it. Now lest this qualifying stroke may seem too harsh, it must be added again immediately that in few places in the world has the ruling class such an intelligent, scientifically conscious view of the duties and obligations of capital as the ruling group in Hawaii.

It may be well to be concrete. Sugar is the important staple of the Island. Sugar is supposed to require coolie labor. The unskilled labor in the sugar plantations of the

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Island of Hawaii, for instance, receives according to recent reports an average of something over a dollar and a half a day, with no seasonal labor, a six day week the year around, plus a small bonus for a certain number of days of consecutive labor and a larger one for profit-sharing when sugar is high enough. In addition to this, the laborer has a house and a garden patch for his family where he may raise vegetables, keep a cow, a pig and chickens. It is marvelous to note how many garages there are on the little house and garden plots of the Island laborers. This is particularly true of the Japanese and Chinese who are a generation or two ahead of the Filipinos. The children of these Japanese and Chinese plantation laborers are kept in school until their mid-teens. Many, perhaps most of the children, go to the splendid high schools which are scattered through the towns in the plantation area. Good roads connect the plantations with these high school towns.

The Hawaiian, who has no great taste or talent for work, is a garage man, a truck driver, a business man, but his daughter does a great service to the Island. She has no race antipathies but marries where she listeth, and the Hawaiian blood gives a sturdy, upstanding, physical characteristic to the native children which seems biologically to breed both races up rather than down. And the daughters of these various crosses between the Asiatic and Hawaiian are most beautiful children, also quick and intelligent. They make good clerks, first rate industrial workers in the canneries and factories, and, best of all, faithful wives and careful mothers. What they would make under the domination of a cruel, tyrannical governing white race is doubtful—but possibly socially wasteful! Yet, under the oligarchy of the Island, there is a constantly rising stream of Asiatic blood crossed variously with Hawaiian, Caucasian and blood from other islands which is producing a most interesting civilization: American in all its outer phases, English-speaking and English-thinking, a civilization which seems to fit into American ideals in such of its simpler forms as the people of these alien bloods have occasion to touch.

Restricted Asiatic immigration, of course, keeps back the current of Asiatic ideals. The second generation of Asiatics who are born on the Island and go through the common schools keep their contact with the older civilization only through their parents. The leading Japanese language newspaper in Hawaii prints its first page in English and prints the comics that are smeared through the other seven pages, Mutt and Jeff, Min and Andy, Gus and Skeezics, Jiggs and Maggie, Mr. and Mrs.—all in English. Some of the more important advertising is in English; the special sales at the dry goods stores, the reduced prices, the used cars, are often printed in English. The editor of the paper, of course, is keen to keep the Japanese overtime language schools in the Island. If they are not continued he will lose his circulation in a few years. But at any rate he will be compelled soon to add another English page, and in ten years half of his paper will be printed in English and half in Japanese for the older people only. The Island swarms with baseball. Inter-island teams, intra-city teams spring up on every vacant lot. The benevolent oligarchy provides many open spaces for games. Baseball, football and water sports engage probably 60 per cent of the young adult population of the Island, yet no Asiatic word has filtered into the baseball slang. It is all English. The postal authorities will declare that the love letters of the young Asiatics are written in English. Girls and boys in their teens and twenties cannot write fluently the language of their fathers. They speak it familiarly but only with the limited vocabulary of the home. The language of business and commerce, the language of sport and the language of love, our three greatest human interests, is the English language in the Hawaiian Islands. This "Americanization" the oligarchs have achieved for the Asiatic races with their benevolent despotism.

IT was under the benignant smile of this very oligarchy that the Institute of Pacific Relations met. Day by day, for two weeks, two hundred people gathered from all over the Pacific, no one hampered by official or class representation, blurted out all that was in their hearts; not in wrath but most politely, and withal most candidly. And the upshot of it all was this: that capitalism as it has developed modern civilization during the last hundred and fifty years has turned eastward, is invading China, Asia and India. This means that industry, the installation of large machines in great industrial plants, is replacing the household arts, that from time immemorial have interested and somewhat maintained the yellow races and the brown.

It is a new impulse in the East, this industry under capitalism. It requires other virtues from those which have been instilled by the civilization upon which the East is builded. A more or less acute and highly practical sense of the rights of others is one of the first essentials of a thriving industry under capitalism. Altruism has not as deeply permeated the East as it has the West. Brown and yellow men are not their brother's keepers. Social and industrial justice, to those who cannot of their own strength wrest it from their fellows, are not upon the whole approved in the cosmos of the East. Hence there are ancient cruelties facing stirring conflicts all over the East. Out of those cruelties and conflicts come the new problems of Asia and the Islands; problems which disrupted the factory towns of Great Britain a hundred years ago, which shook Europe in the beginning of the last century, industrial problems, matters of wages, working conditions, hours, tenure of job, and the whole procession of differences between man and master which sooner or later must be put upon a just and humane basis if industry under capitalism is in the long run profitable. All over the East, in India, in China, and to an extent in Japan, the capital from the western world is coming, bringing in huge machines, mostly made in the Occident. This capital is, of course, greedy for the profits that come by manning those machines with cheap labor, shipping the products of the machines out into the world to compete with products of machines manned by labor employed by other capital affected with a sense of altruism, a western sense of decency, a Christian sense of justice.

This, fundamentally, is what the members of the Institute discussed, and sooner or later all subjects led into the big question: What must capital out of the West do with coolie labor when capital goes East? The Institute early realized that it must pass no resolutions, express no opinions, but merely report the facts. But the facts, floods of facts, poured into the meetings from a score of different angles, and from the lips of many races. The facts all fitted into one pattern, the jumbled pattern (*Continued on page 212*)

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Chinese Types

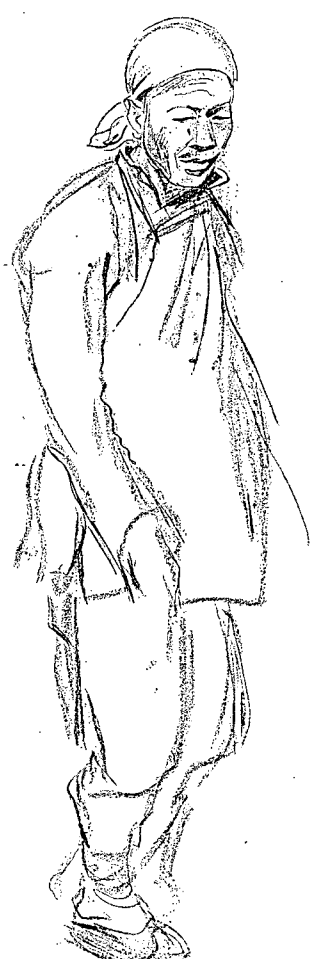
Sketched in China by C. LEROY BALDRIDGE

A classical scholar, formerly governor of a province

A "radical student" in Shanghai

A middle class girl

A coolie soldier



A farmer sketched on the Great Wall

A river boatman

Peasant mother and baby wearing the tiger cap to keep away bad spirits

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Looking at America—in China

By LEWIS STILES GANNETT

—CANTON

IN vain I tried to draw Chang Kai Shek out with questions. After an hour, discouraged, I rose to leave. The Canton general started cross-examining me. "What do you think of America's Pacific policy?" he began. I told him. He asked more questions, and more. Finally this young general who drills his troops in the socialist principles of Sun Yat Sen, and with his student-army had swept clean the province of Kwangtung, leaned forward and said:

"I see that you are sincere. You can see few people and they do not like to tell you the truth. But I will talk to you as to a Chinese. I will tell you what you will not hear from others: thinking men in China hate America more than they hate Japan."

Chang Kai Shek, the Canton general with the face of an apostle

I must have gasped. Chang Kai Shek explained:

"Japan talks to us in ultimatums; she says frankly that she wants special privileges—extraterritoriality, tariff control—in China. We understand that and know how to meet it. The Americans come to us with smiling faces and friendly talk; but in the end your government acts just like the Japanese. And we, disarmed by your fair words, do not know how to meet such insincerity.

"That is what is behind the anti-Christian movement in China. Your missionaries write 'charity' over their doors, and I do not deny that many of them are good men who do good work; but in the end they make it easier for American policy to follow that of the other imperialist Powers. So, because we have been deceived by your sympathetic talk, we end by hating you most.

"Why cannot America act independently? Why does she preach fine sermons, but in the end tag along with the others? Why can she not, like Russia, prove her friendliness by acts?" (Soviet Russia, it will be recalled, won her present influence in China by her sweeping denunciation of all the "unequal treaties.")

From the general's house I went to the Nanti Club. Over the chopsticks and rice-bowls I repeated what Chang Kai Shek had said. They listened gravely but made no comment. I asked if they thought most Chinese agreed with the general. The commissioner of public health, a graduate of Syracuse University; the commissioner of public works, a graduate of Purdue; the comptroller of the city of Canton, a graduate of Columbia; and the commissioner of foreign affairs, a graduate of Hongkong University, hastily arose and departed. Only C. C. Wu, the mayor, who went to high school in Atlantic City and did his university work in England (he is a son of Wu Ting Fang) expressed himself.

"There is no doubt," he said, "that China has suffered as much from America's fair words as from Japan's ultimatums." And he cited Secretary Knox's proposal to neutralize the Manchurian railroads, which hastened the Russo-Japanese agreement to divide Manchuria between them. That, he said, was one of a series of occasions upon which China had suffered by pinning too much faith to the benevolence of the United States. I was reminded of the words of a Chinese banker who had been my classmate in America. "Honestly," he said, "we are not anti-foreign when we are over there studying. But we come back here, and we cannot help it."

Decidedly, these Chinese do not see us as we see ourselves. Why should they? When the British troops shot a fleeing Shanghai crowd in the back on May 30, last, American marines were generously landed to do the police work of the excited International Settlement; thirteen of the twenty warships in the river off Shanghai flew the American flag; American marines even established themselves in the university quarters from which Chinese students had been ousted. And our missionary bodies, with many honorable individual exceptions, have not even yet, after a whole summer and half a winter of intense discussion, come down clearly on the Chinese side of the imperialist fence. Who shall rule China? Americans are doing all sorts of nice things for China, but they are not doing the one thing that the Chinese most want—they are not abandoning the special privileges which make the foreigners a class apart in all the twenty-one provinces of the republic. We put millions of dollars into schools and hospitals and churches for China—excellent enterprises. But until these institutions come under Chinese law and accept the risks which Chinese have to accept, they may even increase anti-foreign feeling rather than lessen it. Because Christian institutions are the most visible symbols of Western influence in China they are likely to receive a lot of blows which they have not, individually, earned.

"Occasional mobbings of missionaries," Edward A. Ross wrote fifteen years ago, "are in part explosions of anti-foreign feeling generated in this most patient of peoples by opium wars, the enforced opium trade, the compulsory opening of ports, extraterritoriality, high-handed seizures of territory, and like buffets to national pride inflicted by the fist of the Western Powers. The missionary . . . as the nearest foreigner, receives the lightning-stroke." They do

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not mob missionaries in China today; but they hold anti-Christian mass meetings and denounce the Chinese Christians as "dog-runners of imperialism."

"We are not against the Christianity of Jesus," one of the leaders of the anti-Christian movement in South China —a former Columbia student—said to me. "But we are against the Christianity of the imperialists." Imperialism, in China today, means more than land-grabbing—it means foreign privilege, foreign cultural and financial control.

The chairman of the strike committee which had held Hongkong at bay for seven months said: "Christianity teaches the Chinese something they do not need—love, and kindness to the enemy. They never teach the imperialists kindness. It would be better if the missionaries would turn their efforts in that direction."

"Schools in China should educate our children for life in China," said Wang Ching Wei, "not turn them into little foreigners."

I am not discussing here the justice of these accusations; I cite these remarks because they represent a feeling of which Americans in America should take account—a feeling which our government's policy does little to discourage. An extreme example may be cited from an address made to a convention of oriental transport workers in 1924:

> Having abolished the Boxer indemnity, the money formerly paid by China to America as indemnity for the Boxer uprising is now in part used for the education of Chinese youth in America, from which country this youth will return to make propaganda for this "land of the free." Religious penetration of China by the Y. M. C. A. and American missionaries further paves the way for that friendly spirit between America and China which best lends itself to future imperial conquests. Following this paternal policy, American business interests will begin to reap their profits.

It is puerile to credit the Russians with inspiring this anti-Christian and anti-American sentiment. It fits into their anti-imperialist program, to be sure; but it long antedates the soviet revolution, and the orthodox Anglo-American abuse of the one nation which has voluntarily renounced special privileges in China only increases Chinese distrust of English and American intentions. Indeed, the student of Christian history in China will find striking parallels to the present situation in earlier centuries. The nineteenth-century missionary movement is the fourth great Christian invasion of China. We do not know why the Nestorian missionaries who converted the Chinese emperor in the seventh century A. D. died out. We know more of the Christian movement which followed upon the visit of Marco Polo to China toward the end of the thirteenth century. Writing in 1914 the Rev. A. C. Moule* explained its failure thus:

> The early Jesuits, we are told by one of themselves, "measured everything with a foreign rule." They tried to foreignize the Chinese, or at least they remained obstinately foreign themselves. In those early dangerous days they cheerfully built themselves a house in European style, a thing that has caused trouble again and again within quite recent years. The early and late Nestorians . . . even . . . seem to have kept their Syriac services to the end . . . and the Italian John of Monte Corvino set to work teaching little boys *Latin;* and in his tremendous solitude—twelve years without a letter or message from Europe—it was evidently his greatest joy that they sang the services *just the same as in his convent at home.* . . . The later Nestorians and the Franciscans . . . were regarded as part of the hated foreign rule of the Mongols [Kubla Khan and his successors]. . . . And when the time came all at once they went.

Three centuries later a Catholic mission had again won high favor at the Peking court. But the rivalries of the French and Portuguese national groups, and finally the bitter fight between Dominicans and Jesuits over the translation into the Chinese language of the word God produced such disgust and suspicion that in 1724 an imperial edict proscribed Christianity and ordered the confiscation of church property, an edict which remained on the books for more than two hundred years.

CHINESE national feeling probably never ran so high as it runs today, and I cannot find any reason to suppose that the tide is beginning to ebb. Certainly the Powers have done little to lessen its force. The agreement to establish customs autonomy three years hence, so loudly hailed in the West as proof of a new liberalism, means just about nothing to the popular Chinese mind. More than four years ago at Washington the Powers made a somewhat similar pledge in regard to extraterritoriality. Precise legal minds will point out that at Washington the Powers promised only to consider the question sympathetically and that this time they have pledged themselves to act. The Chinese recall only that after the Washington Conference they were genially assured that the Powers had acted very generously, and a promise to do something three years hence is not convincing to them now. American and British and French gunboats still lie in the Pearl River off Canton, and in the Whangpoo River at Shanghai, patrol the Yangtze River for hundreds of miles above its mouth, and guard Tientsin. The foreigners still live in settlements over which the Chinese have no jurisdiction—at Shanghai, Peking, Canton, Amoy, Tientsin, Hankow, Newchwang, and other cities; and wherever they go in China they still insist upon their right to be judged by foreign law. And in discussing the question of these special rights even sympathetic foreigners—Americans included—inquire whether under Chinese law the foreigners would have as sure guaranties of safety as they have today. To the Chinese mind that is not the question. Leaving legal technicalities and subtleties aside, the Chinese seem to feel that foreigners coming to China should take the same risks that they themselves have to take; that if the foreigners are unwilling to take those risks they should stay away.

The failure of the American Government to take a clean-cut attitude on these questions checks the gratitude which the Chinese used to feel for American educational and medical work in China, and tends to develop a cynical mood of suspicion. The Chinese do not feel grateful today; they are sick and tired of condescending friends. Part of their present-day nationailsm is a sense of wounded pride, and wounded pride is ever wont to betray itself over trifles. It will take tact and profound understanding and sympathy if the American mission schools are to carry on successfully through the coming years of stress. The students even of other missionary colleges still refuse to play ball with the students of St. John's University at Shanghai because of a misunderstanding over the flying of the Chinese flag last summer. Almost half the students of that old and excellent school are now studying at a new, all-Chinese college. Such unimportant matters as the non-observance of all the abundant holidays proclaimed by the (*Continued on page* 216)

* The Failure of the Early Christian Missions to China, In the East and West, Vol. 12 (1914), p. 387. Quoted by Harley F. MacNair in his pamphlet, Critical Moments in the History of Christianity in China, Shanghai, 1925.

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The New Cycle of Cathay and America's Part in It

By JOHN STEWART BURGESS

With what seems to a casual newspaper reader like the crazy sequences of the cinema, the generals drift across the screen, parties rise and fall, and the Chinese plot, whatever it may be, unrolls interminably. But to Professor Burgess many years of service at Princeton-in-Peking have brought an insight which enables him, if not to predict the next reel, at least to make intelligible the one now before us. In his October article, Christians at the Crossroads, he put in perspective the student crisis of Shanghai; in these pages he sketches the cast of characters on the broader stage, and points out, among the forces making or marring the new national life, the part which America may play in the diplomacy of the East.

—PEKING

WHAT does the immediate future hold for China? One can hardly answer so sweeping a question. It seems clear, that although old social organization and old habits still play a big part, they are a passing phase of the present situation. The future is with the forces creating a new national life. The disorganization and destruction resultant from the military debauch of the last decade in China will hinder progress for some time to come. In some respects, as many Chinese claim, things undoubtedly will get much worse before they get better. The roof may first have to fall in before substantial reconstruction takes place. The very real problem of the warring military satraps and the incubus of some two million men under arms create questions that cannot be worked out in a day.

But in spite of these great obstacles, one is able with some confidence to believe that China in the not too distant future somehow will get out of her tangle, for she is fast becoming a united nation welded together in a common crusade.

The question of most concern to America, and for that matter, to all the world, is this: What sort of a nation will this independent China be? What group will be her leaders? What policy will she adopt towards the rest of the world? Here are questions which in some ways can be answered better in London, Tokyo and Washington than in Peking. Sympathetic understanding of China's aspirations and her new consciousness and resultant changes in diplomatic policy are factors supremely important in determining what kind of a nation will crystallize here in the next decade.

AS I see the old China, it was composed of a number of related, self-sufficient groupings, very loosely tied together. The family, village, secret society, guild, were the principal units. In more recent years the chambers of commerce, the agriculture societies, the editors' societies, the educational societies and other vital interest groups have come into some prominence. These were greatly stimulated by Kang Yi Wei, the early reformer of 1898.

In all these groups the mysterious qualities called *tse ke* or "standing" seemed to have been the principal characteristic of leadership. This conception is a peculiar combination of age, learning, experience, plus a certain amount of actual ability in leadership. For instance, at present Wu Pei Fu has what is known as *tse ke*. He has maintained it even though he was thoroughly defeated in battle by his adversaries last year, primarily because of his seniority in military rank and his classical learning. His actual ability as a fighter previously and his refusal to run away to the Foreign Concessions in time of trouble are also factors, but of a minor nature.*

The heads of various guilds in Peking are chosen not primarily for their ability. A man naturally becomes the head man, at the time of the meeting of the guild, because of his *tse ke* or general prominence and standing in the organization. Theoretically, positions of this kind are not sought but are thrust upon a person when he arrives at a certain stage.

When all the different organizations of China were conducted on this order, things managed to go along with a fair amount of harmony. Everyone knew his place and there was no great discord. Leadership naturally came to those who had met certain requirements and there was little rivalry for places. The trouble with the present situation in China is that with the old political system broken down, there is no group on the horizon that has the *tse ke* to take the lead in China's affairs. Accustomed to the old ways of group system and without a relationship to the former governmental ruling group, now twelve years abolished, China is floundering to find some source of political authority which will have sufficient moral sanction to reawake the loyalty of the various groupings of this nation—or to put it more truly, for a person or group whom the other groupings of China would be content to permit to rule. Until such an authority is found we cannot expect to have a peaceable time in this country.

There seem to be two possible ways that such an authority may be established, the first way depending upon the old group cohesion and the second by way of new and revolutionary ideas.

There are many in China, both foreign and Chinese of long experience, who expect chaos to continue until one of

* In April he was offered control of Peking and command of the Kuominchun, or national armies, which previously supported Feng.—EDITOR.

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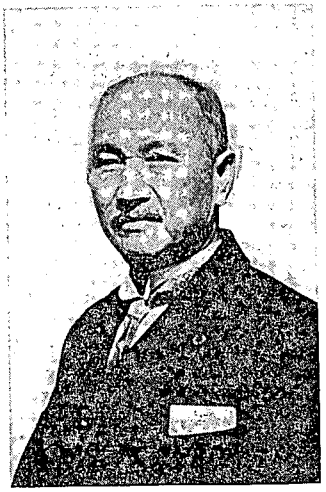
Hartung's

Hu Shih, Ph. D. Columbia, National Government University, educational leader.

H. E. Shen Ju Lin, foreign minister, chief delegate to tariff conference.



Admiral Tsai Ting Kan, head of customs service, delegate to tariff conference.

C. T. Wang, ex-premier, head of Bureau of Russian Relations, a tariff delegate.

the military factions led by some outstanding leader proves itself superior to all others. The feeling is that the standing which would be given such a military leader would be sufficient to re-establish a central government with sufficient power to receive recognition of all of the outstanding groups of the country. There are obvious difficulties with this solution. In the first place, various military leaders have been trying this out for some years and there never was more chaos than at present. Instead of two outstanding parties, we now have four or five and the task of military domination by any one group is becoming increasingly more difficult. Furthermore, it is by no means sure that mere military victory would give any one leader sufficient standing to control the government. If we are to assume the restoration of the old regime, and the establishment of a monarchy, this might be possible, but there are few thinking people in this country who believe there is any possibility of that. The people of China don't want a monarchy. Mere military success would not give sufficient respect and honor to the victorious military hero to weld together the nation. In spite of having the largest number of men under arms of any nation in the world, variously estimated from two to three million, China is in no sense a militaristic nation. The thinking people have little respect for militarists, at least on the score of their fighting ability. The traditions of the nation rank the soldier as one of the most ignoble among the various occupations.

Those who advocate the strong hand policy also overlook the fact that the old group system which formerly permitted the official and governmental class to rule is itself breaking up. One could give numerous illustrations of the disintegration of the old family system; of the guilds losing their functions to the police and civil authorities. and of the general breaking down of the old respect for the authoritative heads of any of the groups above mentioned.

The other possible solution is that with the breaking down of the old group system and the coming in, on the one hand, of a new individualism and on the other hand, of a new nationalism, a solution of the question will eventually be worked out along the lines of the modern democracies of the West. The only one of the military leaders who seems to feel the importance of the new spirit is Marshal Feng Yu Hsiang. The military men in general are counting on a solution of the first kind mentioned and are fighting for position, each hoping that some day, by a favorable turn of the wheel, he will be the supreme military dictator of the country. For the next few years the mass of people will probably think in the old group terms and will leave the militarists to fight it out—as the government is not the affair of the ordinary man in the street, but of the people who are supposed to look after those things. Officialdom appears to have gotten somewhat confused but as military men have taken it upon themselves to take hold of the machinery of government, let them fight it out as quickly as possible and set up some sort of government!

There are abundant signs, however, that the new nationalism is here. The chambers of commerce throughout the country are getting desperate over the situation and are demanding that the militarists reform their policy. Very recently in Shantung the people of the town rose up and destroyed the yamen of the local official who had been squeezing money from them for military purposes. They killed a lot of the soldiers and drove the official out.

That the beginnings of democracy have brought the signs of individualism has also become a truism. During the first years after the revolution, the contrast with old China was most marked. For the first time in her history here in Peking very young men came into prominence in government positions. Women also, for the first time, took the public platform and made addresses. A friend of mine who was on the station platform at the time the first parliament members were coming to Peking, aroused great indignation in a certain parliamentarian by asking him what school he was going to attend in Peking! Many of the members of the new Parliament looked like school boys. With the various waves of democratic feeling that have swept over the country during the last fourteen years, young men less hampered by the traditions of the past have been recurrently prominent in government affairs in the capital and departures have been made from the age-long customs of governmental administration, though the tide has repeatedly swung.

With over four million young men and women in schools and colleges, and hundreds of thousands turned out every year, and an increasing number going abroad; and with the spread of mass education and the beginnings of a genuine public opinion, we may expect gradually that the time will

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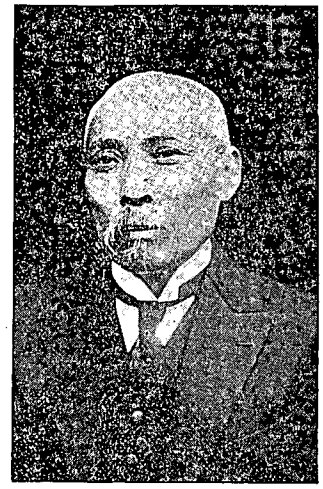
Hartung's

General Feng Yu Hsiang, in control of the Northwest, but losing ground.

Marshal Wu Pei Fu, who is apparently succeeding Feng in control of Peking.

Liang Shih Yi, minister of finance under Yuan, in the "communication clique."



Tuan Chi Jui, national general executive at Peking until last month.

come when a truly democratic leader or a group interested in a new type of national life will be welcomed. The orientation from group interest to national interest has been taking place rapidly since May 30, 1925.

Who will be the leaders in the social order which will be produced by this new national consciousness? No one who has lived in China for any length of time and who knows the Chinese people has any doubt of their mental ability to look after themselves. The practical problem is this: how, in so complicated an international and internal situation, can any forward-looking group so control national policy that order can be restored and progress begun? Is it possible for an intelligent minority with the highest patriotic aims, to bring about the development of a wholesome democratic life? There are a number of modern groups already established in China, with some degree of unity, any one of which may play a prominent part in the future development of this country.

Of the older groups which have a constructive program, one should mention the Chiao T'ung Hsi or "communication clique," led by Yeh Kung Ch'oo, at present the minister of communications. This group has a well worked out program of economic salvation for China, by means of better roads, increased railroads and development of natural resources. At present this clique holds great power, controlling not only the Board of Communications, but the Bank of Communication and the Bank of China as well, and having a large following among the financial leaders. Li Shih Hao, minister of finance, belongs to this group—also Liang Shih Yi, the finance minister under Yuan Shih Kai, known as the "God of Wealth." It seems improbable that in the future this group, which has been closely identified with Chang Tso Lin and his military party, will play a leading role.

The second group is known as the Yen Chiu She or "discussion group," which includes many of the most prominent educators of modern China, and other leaders of a non-political nature, which look to education as the means of national salvation. Among these are Tao Chih Hsing, head of the National Society for the Promotion of Education, and a group of prominent and able returned students. Under his leadership important educational experiments have been made and considerable improvement has been accomplished in the educational system in spite of the political upheavals of the last few years. Paul Monroe and other prominent educators have lectured in China under the auspices of this association and have guided the development of this educational movement. Another prominent member of this group is Yen Yang Chu, properly known as "Jimmie Yen of Yale," formerly secretary of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A., and now head of the mass educational movement, which Ray Lyman Wilbur at the Honolulu Conference called the most significant social movement in the world today. This has as its aim nothing short of producing, by the use of the Thousand Character Readers, a literate China within a generation. The story of the advance and the development of this movement reads like a modern romance. It has now close on to a million students. The policy of this movement is not only to teach the thousand characters and elements of reading, but to develop citizenship training. Other prominent educators such as Kuo Ping Wen, former head of the Southeastern University, Fan Yuan Lien, formerly minister of education, and Hu Shih, of the National Government University, founder of the Renaissance Movement, are associated with this general movement. Prominent men who were formerly leaders in politics are backing this educational advance, especially Liang Chi Chao, the sage of China, with Kang Yi Wei, one of the two foremost revolutionists in the years just preceding 1900. It is improbable that this group will develop into a political movement of great power but its influence will be very great in the new life of China under any form of political organization. On the whole, this group stands for conservative democracy and constructive building by means of education and citizenship training.

A third prominent group which may prove the force to mould a new China is composed of General Feng Yu Hsiang, his military officials and a growing number Feng Yu Hsiang, his military officials and a growing number of his followers. Recent military movements have all made it apparent that his power is to extend beyond the northwest provinces, probably to include the whole of the metropolitan province of Chihli and possibly others further south.* General Feng is the one militarist (*Continued on page* 199)

* Since this article was written changes in the Chinese military situation have, at least for the time being, greatly restricted the area of General Feng's influence.—EDITOR.

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Next Steps in a Pacific Policy

A Sketch-Map of America's Position Today

By RAYMOND T. RICH

AMERICAN-ORIENTAL contacts and relationships are today a matter of urgent and immediate concern. The contemporary diplomatic negotiations in Peking—of major significance and extraordinary complexity, the current sessions of the commission of inquiry into matters of extraterritoriality, the more localized problems of Shanghai, the questions of concessions and leases, all these and a thousand other perplexities in China hold more of fate for men everywhere than this country dreams of or would willingly realize. Nor may we forget the consequences—by no means ended—of our recent Exclusion Act directed against Japan, which, although at present not so prominent, is as much an issue in the problem of the Pacific as the more striking developments in China. And upon the solution of this entire oriental problem, with not a single factor slighted, depends our hope of preventing the darkest features of Mediterranean and Atlantic history from having eventually their calamitous counterparts on the Pacific.

Fortunately, many of the latest dispatches from China have indicated a growing comprehension that, whatever else it may be, the problem of the Pacific is before all a problem of attitudes—of attitudes arising from wholly inadequate and generally faulty contacts. For decades, even for generations, the "old China hand" has vigorously insisted that it is steel and shot the Chinese heed—force and nothing else. By threats and bluster, with gunboats in the offing, he has elbowed his way to "fame" and fortune. Today, however, even many of the densest die-hards have come to realize that a new temper must be dealt with in old China.

Since the thirtieth of last May, through evil days and sorrier profits, foreign business leaders and diplomatic staffs have come to learn the lesson that even in China good will is the greatest asset. Investors and commercial men of small affairs (and commensurate horizon) have yet to master this elemental truth. But by and large, there has been notable improvement; the foreigners in China have begun to turn towards a policy of patient conciliation. Where this friendly foreign attitude has been the strongest the rewards are already much in evidence: boycotts ended, better business, fewer rabid demonstrations organized by fevered student leaders and a much greater reasonableness and readiness to negotiate. To continue along this course of reconciliation is of incalculable importance. It is the sine qua non of any solution whatsoever.

But let the foreign powers resume their well-nigh fatal apathy, let the revision of unequal treaties be retarded or not pushed to the last logical conclusion, or above all, let the far-too-novel phenomenon of a better foreign attitude disappear, and there will be grave consequences. A stalwart and persistent policy of continued generosity and unquenchable good will is the first requisite not only of American statesmanship, but also of American public opinion, upon which the quality of our statesmanship is fundamentally dependent.

THIS is not, however, a simple path. While major American interests remain untouched, all will be smooth and happy, and the generosity of the American public will be unstinted. But what in the event of some really trying circumstance? Let us say—not to be gloomy but merely realistic—the massacre of several Americans by an inflamed Chinese mob? Could American popular good will be relied upon? Our diplomats in the Orient are not sure of it. They feel that popular sympathy for China is largely sentimental and therefore superficial and probably unreliable in an emergency. The sweeping assertions of liberal groups and speakers have so often utterly ignored the seamy side of the Chinese situation that they are enormously discredited and proportionately ineffective. If liberals in America desire to shape our foreign policy, there must be a much larger quota of scholarship and investigation behind each fluent resolution.

Obviously, this does not mean that a liberal policy is not desirable. A liberal policy is indispensable. But the advocates of liberalism must show a greater comprehension of unpalatable as well as savory facts, and also of the difficulties confronting the diplomats. This done, they will hold an incomparably better position to exert real influence in time of need.

Recognition of the mad chaos of Chinese militarism is a case in point. China is rotten with corruption, seething with selfish, senseless civil strife, and lacking in deep-lying principles, plans or policies. We must face these truths and deal with them. Yet more, we must recognize their repercussion upon international negotiations. The Peking Central Government is little more than a clearing house for paper government, which, as this article is written, apparently has no cabinet, no ministers, no power, no money—little more indeed, than a thoroughly discredited "provisional chief executive." Negotiation with nonentities is difficult, and we cannot blink the fact.

Again, to be realistic, we must try to comprehend how such persistent chaos harries the nerves of foreign diplomats. Is it any wonder they are tempted to cease talk and let the gunboats act? It is so distinctly human to do so that we see precisely why public opinion at home must be on guard. Every foreign chancellery in China knows at bottom that a policy of coercion would be futile and probably disastrous. But in the heat of exasperation this truth may be forgotten.

Take for example the recent incident at Taku, although it is somewhat dangerous to do so while only scattering reports are yet available. Chinese forces armed the forts,

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mined the river to Tientsin, and otherwise violated the Protocol of 1901 calling for open communication between Peking and the sea. Furthermore, Japanese destroyers were fired upon, an officer killed, and several sailors wounded. The Powers delivered a three-day ultimatum. There was a major crisis as the foreign nations hovered on the brink of force. Was there provocation for the ultimatum? Certainly. Justification? Perhaps. But did it promise security from violent reactions throughout all China? Not at all. The moment was one when public opinion in every foreign land, and not least in America, had grave reason to be apprehensive.

Fortunately, the Chinese yielded and further developments were thus avoided. But was a new precedent established? If so, there is untold tragedy in the months ahead. Yet here again, while resolutely insisting that China must not be coerced, liberals must also be faithful in their observance of all the facts, and must recognize that subsequent events have seemed to indicate a trend away from force. Conciliation is to be warmly encouraged.

IF Chinese civil chaos is recognized as tempting the diplomats to resort to force, we must not overlook another aspect of the situation—the obsolete, or obsolescent, and deeply resented "unequal treaties." If these are to be continued, the use of force can scarcely be avoided. And participation in a gun-boat policy would torpedo all hope of reconciliation into oblivion. There are three choices and no more: to back up the treaties by unlimited might (with eventual disaster); to let them be violated and disregarded; or, to revise them all with utmost promptitude.

Extraterritoriality and tariff autonomy are, of course, the major questions now involved. The former problem is being investigated by an international commission which, most regretably, has no power other than that of inquiry. The various nations represented are quite free to accept or reject in whole or in part the findings of this body. Whether or not this adherence to the narrow terms of reference set by the Washington Conference will prove adequate to meet the situation, only future developments can disclose. There is no likelihood that the present commission's scope will be expanded and there is little occasion for optimism. The chief hope would seem to be to handle the investigation with utmost dispatch (a difficult process with Chinese internal conditions as they are) and to convene a conference with power immediately following the investigation. America should press for this in order to bring about quick improvement of the present extraterritorial system and an early beginning of some program of progressive restoration of full Chinese jurisdiction.

Unfortunately, treaty revision as regards extraterritoriality and other matters is enormously retarded by the traditional policy of "cooperative action" by the Western powers, of maintaining the time honored decorous "united front"—the "convoy system" it has been called, wherein the speed of each is limited to that of the slowest unit. This delay during decades past has brought the situation in China to a pass where it is well-nigh if not completely beyond control. China has learned, moreover, how in the last analysis she can break up the solid front. She has shown the Powers that they may at any moment be confronted with the *fait accompli* of abrogated treaties. It is this fact more than any other which accounts for the unexpected liberality (if such it may be called) that the Powers have demonstrated in the Special Tariff Conference, delayed though it has been by the frequent and vexatious absence of Chinese delegates with whom to negotiate.

THE Tariff Conference is even more interesting as an illustration of the different policies which the various nations have with respect to China. Japan has been the chief opponent to increases in the Chinese tariff, while the United States has been quite prepared to grant autonomy. Avarice versus generosity? Not at all! Tariff autonomy will promote the industrialization of China, and with a protective tariff wall established her present great demand for low-grade cotton cloth will almost immediately cease. Japan makes that cloth, and the cessation of that trade would be a staggering economic blow. But America? America would profit, because the demand for cloth would be replaced by a demand for textile machinery, and America makes that machinery! Yet more, with the industrialization of China there would be an increased call for iron and steel products, automotive equipment and railway materials—all of which we have for sale, while China's decline in demand for piece goods imports (which Japan supplies) would affect us but very slightly. We stand to gain by granting China her requests; Japan, to lose and lose most critically.

In these circumstances is it difficult to imagine Japanese leaders speaking somewhat as follows? "Ah yes, it is easiest to be liberal where liberality costs least. America has at present relatively little at stake in China. Hence, the policy of the Open Door, of equal opportunity, although in America denial of equal privileges and a Monroe Doctrine is the rule. No wonder America moves freely in the East; it is we who must pay the major bill. And of course the United States plays liberally with the Chinese tariff. Its increase will only make Osaka babies cry for rice—children of that yellow race which America excludes contemptuously from her shores of wealth."

IF the solution of the Pacific problem involved China only, this viewpoint might be disregarded. But such is not the case: the enormous difficulties of Japan's position must be recognized by the American public. In the writer's view, Japan's own highest interests would be served best by a courageously imaginative and boldly liberal policy on her part which would aim less for immediate and more for agelong values. But Japan is in a precarious economic situation and we must expect, although we may deplore the necessity of, cautious and slow action by the Tokyo Government.

Japan, for example, is apparently delaying the tariff conference in order to conclude a special reciprocal tariff treaty with China to become effective coincidently with Chinese tariff autonomy January 1, 1929. If sanctioned by China and if in accord with the fundamental principles solemnly covenanted at the Washington Conference, such a treaty would seem manifestly fair and, like all legitimate Japanese measures for economic relief, should be welcomed by America. At the same time, however, as suggested by the Baltimore Conference on Chinese-American relations last September, we must not sacrifice our prompt rendering of full justice to China or our own right to independent action, should reasonably early agreement prove impossible. (*Continued on page* 218)

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America and the Far East:

By JOHN DEWEY

DURING the great famine in China I happened to be present when a number of Americans in Peking were discussing the relations of the United States and China. One of them, a business man, was complaining of the great difficulty in getting Americans to invest their money in China for industrial and commercial purposes. He started from the fact that an engineering scheme which would have been of undoubted benefit to China, since it involved a reclamation project that would prevent floods, had failed because of the refusal of Americans to put in their money, although a fair return would have been assured. He contrasted this holding back with the amount of money which had just been voluntarily contributed by benevolence for the relief of famine sufferers. The amount given was several millions more than the amount which had been refused as a loan. He asserted, and not wholly in a whimsical spirit, that the only way to finance China's needs in the United States was to appeal to the churches and philanthropically inclined persons on the basis of benevolence, not profit.

I have often thought that his remarks furnished, in a way, a symbol of the underlying relations of the two countries. Of course there are American business relations with China, and some of them have a good deal at stake. And yet they are hardly typical of the situation. In a true sense, our concern with China is parental rather than economic. All parental sentiments are somewhat mixed: they usually contain an economic factor; there is the hope that the children may be of assistance later on. Yet expectation of financial gain is not the essence of parental feeling.

The largest American investments both of human beings and of capital in China are in missions, education and philanthropy. Europeans, accustomed to continental methods, usually take it as a matter of course that these developments were made designedly with commercial or political ends in view. In fact, Americans are not infrequently complimented by Europeans upon the far-sighted shrewdness with which our country has laid its plans in the Far East. To those who know the real history of events this implication is absurd. But nonetheless a definite situation has been created; our relations with China are primarily cultural. We have gone there with ideas and ideals, with sentiments and aspirations; we have presented a certain type of culture to China as a model to be imitated. As far as we have gone at all, we have gone *in loco parentis,* with advice, with instruction, with example and precept. Like a good parent we would have brought up China in the way in which she should go. There is a genial and generous aspect to all this. But nonetheless it has created a situation, and that situation is fraught with danger.

Our diplomatic and political role has been largely paternal. From the time of Burlinghame down we have been, as far as we have been anything, protective. The doctrine of the Open Door, of maintaining the territorial integrity of China, ran with our own interests. The remission of the Boxer indemnity for educational purposes is known to all, but John Hay undoubtedly rendered a greater service to China in limiting the claims and exactions of European nations; as far as any one person outside of China saved China from division it was John Hay. We have not done as much positively as we pride ourselves upon; but from the negative side, by absence of aggression, by smoothing things down when we could without great trouble to ourselves, we have played a paternal role.

Such a part arouses expectations which are not always to be met. Expectations may be unreasonable and yet their not being met may arouse disappointment and resentment. There is something of this sort in the temper of China towards us today: a feeling that we have aroused false hopes only to neglect the fulfilment of obligations involved in the arousal. On the other side, parents are rarely able to free themselves from the notion that gratitude is due them; failure to receive it passes readily into anger and dislike. Unless this country has more than the average amount of parental understanding, it may soon be charging China with ingratitude.

THE more serious danger, however, springs from the fact that China is rapidly growing up. In sentiment, if not in effective action, it is attaining its majority. It will henceforth resent more and more any assumption of parental tutelage even of a professedly benevolent kind. Signs of the resentment are already apparent. Missions and even schools are no longer welcome if they assume an air of superiority either as to what they have to offer or in their administration. The Chinese feel that a new day for them has arrived and that foreigners, even those with the best of intentions, must accommodate themselves to it. They are free in their imputation of bad motives whenever foreign interests do not respond. Politically also, the Chinese no longer wish for any foreign guardianship. If this country should not take the lead in relieving them of judicial and tariff tutelage, what we may have done in the past will be quickly forgotten.

There is a crisis in most families when those who have been under care and protection grow to the point of asserting their independence. It is the same in the family of nations. Obviously primary responsibility rests with the mature and experienced. In the next ten years we shall probably need much patience, tolerance, understanding and good-will to alter our traditional parental attitude, colored as it has been by a temper of patronage, conscious or unconscious, into one of respect and esteem for a cultural equal. If we cannot successfully make the change, the relationship of this country with the entire Far East will take a decided turn for the worse.

Rural and village life in Old China, details from

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The Issues of Pacific Policy

By CHARLES AND MARY BEARD

THE great issue between the United States and Japan is not the immigration question. It never has been. Gentlemen could have settled that matter without any friction to the satisfaction of the most intransigent Nordic, and according to all appearances courtesy was not wanting on the side of Tokyo.

The real issue is the exploitation of China, the northern provinces in general and Manchuria in particular. American business men have long had their eyes on investment possibilities there. Japan controls Korea and the South Manchurian railway zone and her statesmen look upon that section of the mainland as their special preserve. Why not?

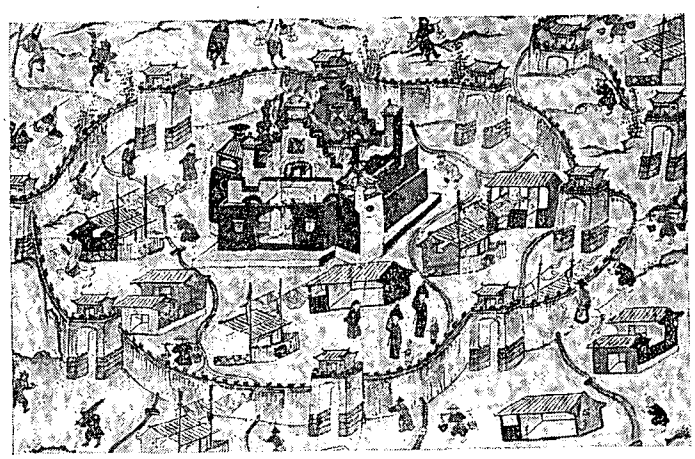
What has American imperialism done in the Caribbean and for similar and less pressing reasons? Japanese capitalists want to make money on the mainland; they look upon trade there as a source of support for their people in industries at home and land there as potential homesteads for emigrants. For Japan it is a life and death matter; for the United States it is a bagatelle.

Ah, but our forward-looking liberal will say, let the Japanese practise birth control. The advice is good. But the answer of the Japanese statesmen is short and pungent.

The advice comes with very poor grace from the Anglo-Saxons, the Irish, the Germans, the Italians, and the Jews who have spread their progeny all over the earth—above all from the noble Nordic who seizes whatever he wants under the guidance of manifest destiny. That is not all.

The Samurai with a suave gesture points to the benighted legislation which the conspiracy of cultured silence keeps on the American statute books and indicates that that is that.

No, the heart of the business is the exploitation of China. And what can the United States do about it? One of many things, if anything at all.



a Chinese rug in the Metropolitan Museum

1. The United States can give the Japanese a rather free hand on the mainland. That was the policy which Roosevelt followed when he acquiesced in the annexation of Korea and the advance of the Sun banner in Manchuria. There is something to be said for it. The Japanese know the Orient better than American business men and if allowed to exploit the mainland will doubtless borrow more money and buy more goods in America than China can buy, at least in her present state.

2. There is the policy of bluffing which Secretary Knox was inclined to favor; that is, rattle the sabre at the Japanese and try to shake them loose from their privileges and concessions without really intending to invite the American people to fight another war to end war—this time on Japan. There is something to be said for that also.

3. There is, in the third place, the policy of hard righteousness: Shake the Japanese loose by a war if necessary. That appeals to paper strategists, a few concession-hunters, and some apostles of the higher life. Only Cervantes could write a brief for the case.

4. There is, in the fourth place, loyal cooperation with Great Britain in enforcing Nordic dominion in the Orient and a division of the spoils of the joint enterprise. There is something Hindenburgian in that. London appears to be prepared for it, but our economical President does not seem able to discover any favorable balance in the ledger. Morever it would be embarassing to Christian missionaries in China.

5. There is, in the fifth place, the policy of working ourselves into a favorable position by playing Japan and Russia off against each other. Roosevelt did that with great finesse but Coolidge shrinks from associating with the wicked Soviet Republic.

In this bill of particulars seems to be the substance of the business. Anybody can pay his money and take his choice.

Ah, say the righteous, what about poor China? Would you under any circumstances surrender that ancient and honorable people to the tender mercies of the imperial Japanese? One answer might be that there are four hundred million of the former and sixty million of the latter, but to the sympathetic the reply is not conclusive. Another answer might be that, if any American is bent on freeing the downtrodden from the yoke of power, he can more easily begin in Haiti, but to the heroic that seems irrelevant. No doubt the situation is painful and the young Chinese who are trying to free their country from the grip of the foreigner deserve American sympathy. Among the foreigners whom they wish to retire, however, are the English and the Americans as well as the Japanese and a war for their liberation might prove embarassing to the capital on the Potomac. At all events before that new childrens' crusade is preached and launched, it would be well for the mathematicians, saints, and philosophers to calculate the cost.

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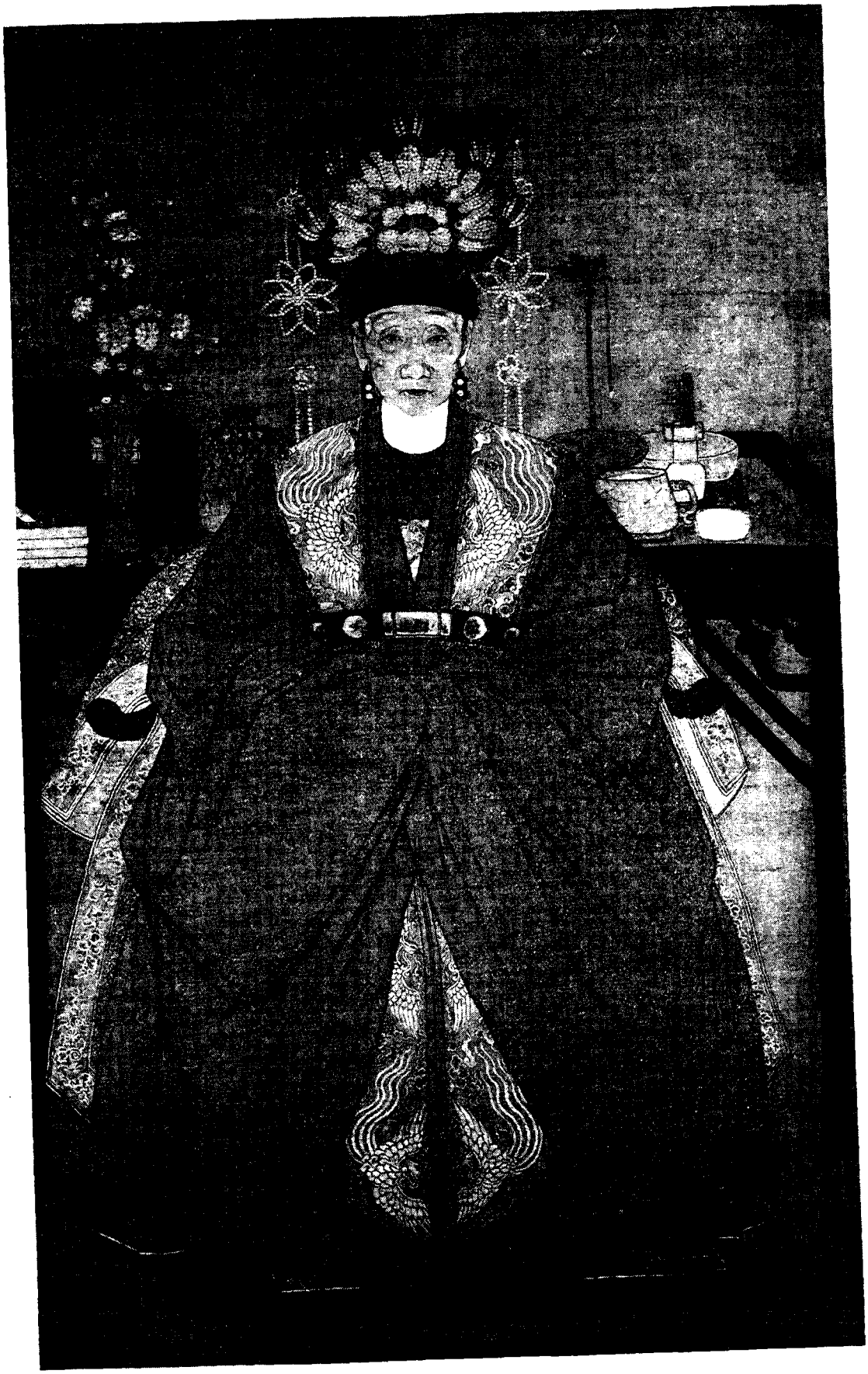

Courtesy of A. W. Bahr

An ancestral portrait of a Chinese lady of the early Ming period

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Courtesy of A. W. Bahr

An early Ming portrait of a noble with his servant

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Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific

By ROBERT E. PARK

"The race relations cycle—contact, competition, accomodation and eventual assimilation—is apparently progressive and irreversible"

WHAT is taking place around the Pacific is what took place some centuries ago around the Mediterranean; what took place a little later around the Atlantic. A new civilization, or, as Ramsay Traquair puts it, a new Commonwealth of the Pacific is coming into existence. For civilization is not, as some writers seem to believe, a biological, but a social, product. It is an effect of the coming together for trade and for intercourse of divergent races of divergent cultures.

We may observe the effect of this impact of divergent peoples and cultures around the whole rim of the Pacific, as well as in the scattered islands that lie within its wide circumference. The present ferment in Asia and the racial conflict on the Pacific Coast of America are but different manifestations of what is, broadly speaking, a single process; a process which we may expect to continue until some sort of permanent equilibrium has been established between the races and peoples on both sides of the oceans.

In the course of the long struggle which began with the Sand Lot riots in 1876, and ended with the Exclusion Law of 1924, the Pacific Coast has formulated a policy with reference to the peoples of the Pacific, the effect of which is to set the people of Asia apart from the people of Europe and the rest of the world. This policy, now formally written into the federal statutes and supported by a long series of legislative enactments and court decisions, has come to have something of the character, in so far as it represents the deliberate intention of the American people, of a constitutional enactment. These laws have created on our Western Coast a barrier to immigration that is distinctly racial. Its purpose is not merely to limit but to stop immigration from Asia. It is as if we had said: Europe, of which after all America is a mere western projection, ends here. The Pacific Coast is our racial frontier.

All the problems of the Pacific tend to focus about this racial barrier. Will it be maintained? What will be its reflex influence upon Asia? Will it tend in the long run to give Japan the hegemony of Asia? What effect will the inhibition of Asiatic immigration have upon international commerce? Will it hasten the industrialization of Asia, now well under way? Will it give Asiatic states a common cause sufficient to guarantee united political action? Incidentally, it may be said that if America, the front door of Europe, is closed to Asiatic immigration, Russia, the back door, is wide open.

What follows is not to be regarded as an attempt to answer the questions raised. Most of them are, for the moment, probably quite unanswerable. It is intended rather to serve the purpose of what in natural science is called a *frame of reference;* it is intended to define the problem; to indicate the limits within which it is possible to think and estimate the consequences of specific acts and specific tendencies.

What are races and what are racial relations which racial barriers seek to regulate?

I. Geography and Race Relations

RACE relations are, or were, primarily geographic rather than human and social. The races grew up in isolation and acquired distinct racial characteristics slowly by adaptation and by inbreeding. Man, like every other animal, has been and is a creature of his environment, even when that environment has consisted largely of other men. Biological and inheritable differences represent man's responses to the kind of world in which he has learned to live. They are, so to speak, his biological capital; the accumulations of successive generations of men in their struggle to live.

The tendency of man to achieve some sort of equilibrium between himself and his environment is constant. But this is merely one instance of that more general tendency which has brought all living things, plant and animal alike, into relations of vital interdependence. This interdependence of all living organisms is what J. Arthur Thomson has described as "the web of life."

So close and complex, are the relations of man and his living environment that the introduction of a new insect or the extermination of an existing micro-organism may change the course of history. It was not until the American Yellow Fever Commission of 1900 discovered the "yellow fever" mosquito, the *aedes calopus,* that the completion of the Panama Canal, which had cost the French government nearly two million francs and an unestimated number of human lives, was rendered practicable.

If it is impossible to predict the ultimate consequences of the migrations of organisms so minute and seemingly insignificant, it is certain that we cannot estimate the remote effects upon human life and human relations of the vaster and more subversive migrations of man. And this is true for one reason if for no other—because man is himself a carrier of disease.

Steamships and railways have effectually altered the geography of the world, and the barriers which formerly protected the races from one another have been swept away. With the multiplication of modern means of transportation, and with the increasing movement and migration of peoples, no part of the world is so remote from one another as to

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be secure from the invasion of the diseases of which man is the principal carrier.

Under these conditions race relations take the very elementary form of biological competition, which means the struggle to determine, within any geographical area, which race and which races are to survive. Some races have already disappeared, others are dying. The Moravians, the oldest and the most zealous of missionary denominations, maintain a mission devoted to the dying races. Most of these dying races are located on the islands of the Pacific—Polynesia and Milanesia—or in the countries bordering it.

Back of every other objection and prejudice of the people of the Pacific Coast to oriental immigration is the desire to survive. They see the older New England stocks being replaced by French-Canadians and Slavs; they do not want to see the Native Sons of the Pacific replaced by Asiatics.

The fact is that for almost the first time in history the world has become "race conscious." We have in the past sought immortality in various ways, in our family and our clan, in our tribe and in our nation. Now we are seeking it in that somewhat mythical entity that we call race.

II. Race Relations and World Economy

IF racial differences are the effects of geography and isolation, civilization, on the other hand, seems to be a product of contact and communication. Every civilization, in extending the area of human intercourse, has invariably brought about new concentrations of population and a new intermingling of races.

This means that in the long run it is difficult if not impossible to maintain, in America or elsewhere, racial frontiers. All the deeper currents of modern life run counter to a policy of racial or national isolation.

One thing that has invariably tended to widen the circle of human relationship has been the very natural desire of individuals and peoples to effect an exchange of goods and services. Just because they are different physically and culturally, the races are useful to one another. The best evidence of this is the enormous expansion in very recent times of international commerce.

The effect of the steady expansion of international commerce has been to create over the whole earth a vast unconscious cooperation of races and peoples, such that a wheat corner in Chicago a few years ago caused a bread riot in Liverpool, and the price of rubber on the London market has been at times a matter of life and death to the native of Central Africa.

This world-wide division of labor, which every new device of transportation and communication has progressively made possible, and every new application of science to industry has made increasingly desirable, has not been effected without some costs and some disorganization of industrial and social life.

The effect upon European agriculture of the growth of railway transportation in America is an illustration in point:

> In 1870 the cost of transporting a bushel of grain was so great as to prohibit its sale beyond a radius of two hundred miles from a primary market. By 1883, the importation of grains from the virgin soil of the western prairies in the United States had brought about an agricultural crisis in every country in Western Europe.

The effect of the agricultural crisis in Europe was immediately reflected in the rising tide of immigration to America. If this immigration since 1880 has continued to come in in an increasing degree from southern and southeastern Europe it is because these regions have not developed in the meantime the machine industries and the great cities which have absorbed the population in the northern European States.

What has already taken place in the region around the Atlantic is apparently taking place around the Pacific.

The expansion of trade has been followed by a vast movement of populations. The same motives and the same devices of transportation and communication have mobilized both goods and persons. It is natural enough that the same interests which have led merchants to sell in the highest markets and buy in the lowest, should—once the ties that bind man to the soil are loosened—lead the populations in overcrowded regions, with limited resources, to seek their fortunes, either permanently or temporarily, in the new countries of undeveloped resources.

The motives which have inspired Asiatic migrations are, on the whole, not different from those that have led to similar movements in Europe. Asia is, to be sure, not Europe, and the United States is no longer a country of open resources. Yet the population pressures in Asia, in the long run, provoke the same tendencies and the same migration as population pressures in Europe.

What, under all the circumstances, may we expect of the racial barrier on the Pacific Coast? We do not know as yet how far it will be possible to enforce exclusion regulations. As long as there is work that the immigrant, European or Asiatic, can perform better and more economically than the native population can or will, exclusion laws will make migration more of an adventure but will not wholly inhibit it.

For some years past there has been no adventure that has so inflamed the imagination of the European, and even more of the Asiatic peasant, as the great adventure of migration, and especially migration to America. The files in the offices of the United States inspectors of immigration contain the records of some of the most romantic episodes in the history of smuggling in any country. The earlier records are mainly those of the unsuccessful attempts of Chinese laborers to cross the American border, or they are the records of some enterprising tongman seeking to conduct a Chinese slave girl through the perils of the American customs office. But since the passage of exclusion laws, other races are, in increasing numbers, surreptitiously crossing our borders. A new underground railway has come into existence.

Since the period of the fugitive slaves, there has been no chapter in American history just like it, unless it is that earlier and even more romantic episode of the slave pirates who smuggled African slaves into the United States.

The thing that is significant in this connection is that the competition of goods, which is an effect of foreign trade, tends inevitably to bring about a competition of persons, which is an effect of immigration. Finally, both the movements of goods and of populations seem to be merely aspects of a general tendency to redress the economic balance and to restore the equilibrium between population and food supply, labor and capital, in a world economy.

III. Race Relation and World Politics

IT was inevitable that a world which had become, through the medium of international commerce, an economic unit, should eventually seek to establish a political organization capable of protecting international trade. In order

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that the continually expanding industrial processes might not be interrupted, it was necessary for the European states to find markets for their manufacturers and secure the sources of raw materials for their industries and for the rapidly increasing populations for which the industrial revolution had made a place.

The result of the colonial wars in Asia and Africa, and of the political maneuvers in Europe, has been to create over and above the economic organization of the world not a super-state, to be sure, but a political organization loose and ill-defined but world-wide. This political organization came into existence first of all as a result of exploration, conquest, and settlement. The two Americas are actually nothing but extensions of Europe, so largely have Europeans displaced with their populations and cultures the native peoples. In other regions—West and Central Africa, for example—political control has taken the form, first, of spheres of influence, and, since the world war, of political mandates. Where Europe has not extended its control by conquest and immigration, or by conquest without immigration, it has established a political control through the medium of international understandings and treaties. Whether we accept the existence of such an international government as the League of Nations, or not, there is no doubt about the actual existence over the whole world of a political organization so complete that any future struggle between the peoples of the world is bound to assume more and more the character of an internecine war.

Within the organism thus established, it was inevitable that there should arise, irrespective of all other interests, a struggle of the subject peoples to be free and of the peoples occupying an inferior position to improve their status. Among the independent peoples, status goes by the name of prestige. For a nation or a people to be without prestige, is to be without status. Among the subject peoples status is defined in terms of independence or self-determination.

In a recent volume dealing with international and interracial relations, Herbert A. Miller has sought to describe what he calls the "oppression psychosis." The oppression psychosis occurs when the wish or urge for independent action of one group, i. e., race or nationality, is frustrated and inhibited by another. This wish, urge, or will, as he expresses it, is "created to struggle." That is its function. "Opposition stimulates it to struggle harder." At bottom the struggle to maintain national prestige and the struggle for national self-determination are one and the same. They are struggles to gain, to increase and maintain international recognition and status.

One of the evidences of the existence of an international society and an international political order is just this fact of national and racial consciousness. Where nations and races are not at all concerned about their position in the "family of nations," political relations may be said not to exist.

But the demands that one nation, race or people makes upon another for consideration of its interests or recognition of its status are the very stuff of which politics is made. The fact that such demands made by one people are entertained by another implies the existence of an understanding, a law, a code, or rule of some sort, to which either party may appeal. The struggles of peoples and races for independence and self-determination have been, after all, but the struggles for recognition and status in an international or political order that is maintained by the common consent of the peoples involved.

That is the meaning of the nationalist movements which have made so much of the history in Europe during the past seventy-five years. That is the meaning, also, of the rising nationalism in Egypt, in Korea, in India, and in China. India, Korea and the Philippines want independence, or something as near that as it is safe to hope for in an armed world.

China, like Turkey, wants to be mistress in her own house. Japan wants, in the councils of the dominant powers, the status of a political equal.

It is for this reason that Japan insists that Japanese in America should have the same rights and privileges as European immigrants; the right to enter, to settle, and eventually to make her contribution, racial and cultural, to our present "racial and cultural pluralism," to use a phrase which has already gained certain popularity in the United States.

The Japanese government has been very explicit in regard to this matter. In a note of June 4, 1913, the Japanese ambassador declared that in the opinion of the Japanese government:

> The provisions of law, under which it is held that Japanese people are not eligible to American citizenship, are mortifying to the government and people of Japan, since the racial distinction inferable from these provisions is hurtful to their just national susceptibility . . . when that distinction is made use of, as in the present case, for the purpose of depriving Japanese subjects of rights and privileges of a civil nature, which are freely granted in the United States to other aliens, it becomes the duty of the Imperial Government, in the interest of the relations of cordial friendship and good understanding between the two countries, to express frankly their conviction that the racial distinction, which at best is inaccurate and misleading, does not afford a valid basis for the discrimination on the subject of land tenure.

The Handbook of International Organizations, published at Geneva in 1923, lists not less than 350 international organizations of various sorts. Of these, at least twenty are either organizations seeking to exercise some sort of political control, or they are organizations which seek to educate and form public opinion in respect to some matter of international importance.

The result of every conference and of every investigation in the field of international relations is to prepare the way for new agreements and new treaties, these being at present the only forms in which international legislation takes place.

With this continuous expansion of international communication and international politics, race relations have ceased to be a domestic problem.

The rigid enforcement of racial distinctions at home leads "oppressed" races to seek alliances abroad. The First Universal Races Congress, in London, in 1911, is an instance. The Pan-African Congress, which followed, is another. Race has in recent years come to be what religion has always been since the dawn of Christianity, an interest which divides and unites peoples irrespective of national boundaries.

As far as concerns race relations, at any rate, the distinctions which we seek to enforce at home are complicated with the relations which we seek to maintain abroad.

The fact is that races and peoples are coming out of their isolation, whether it be geographical, economic or political.

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In a world in which every act, every significant gesture, reverberates around the globe, the concept of national independence, in the sense in which that word was once used, becomes a mere legal fiction.

IV. Race Relations and the Melting Pot

THE distances which in the past have separated peoples and races have been not only physical, but moral and social. The races have looked at one another invariably with curiosity, but they have not always understood what was behind the faces into which they looked. The sense of distance has made them wary, and often a little lonely, in one another's company.

Social distances maintain themselves longest, but eventually they, too, give way. One of the means by which this change has been effected in recent times has been by the rapid increase in literacy among the masses of the people in all parts of the world. "In the great centers of Islamic life," it is said, "the shrill call of the newsboy is as much a part of daily life as the sonorous cry from the minaret," and in the gulf ports of Iran the most popular literature is likely to be a translation of a penny dreadful published in London. The introduction of universal education in Japan, the reform and simplification of the written language in China, and the multiplication of newspapers and journals in both countries, have opened for great masses of people new windows upon a world no longer bounded by the horizon of their earlier villages. The expansion of commerce and the rise of great cities have likewise accelerated the movement. The growth of literacy seems to run parallel to the growth of cities. In the cities, literacy ceases to be a mere luxury for a special class of intellectuals, and becomes a necessity for the common man. The common man cannot keep pace with the changes in modern life; he can not know how to use the new mechanical devices which are constantly multiplying, unless he knows how to read. The amount of knowledge the ordinary man must have in the modern world in order to live, requires that he be able to get it through the printed page rather than by mere rule of thumb or oral tradition, as he used to do.

An incidental consequence of the extension of international trade and travel has been to extend vastly the use of these European languages which have become the medium of international communication in business, in politics, and in science; namely, English, French and German.

Just as there is a struggle, silent and often unnoticed, to determine what races shall survive, and what places, occupations and states they shall have in the new world society, so there is competition among the great world-languages to determine what form of speech shall survive and become the accepted medium of communication in what Graham Wallas calls The Great Society.

Life is more than food and shelter. Human beings, when they live at all, live in their memories and in their imaginations; in their hopes and their dreams. The ability to read, to gain visual impressions through photographs of other lands and other peoples; to learn through literature something of motives and human passions behind their strange exteriors, has enormously intensified the curiosity of every part of the world in regard to every other. These vicarious experiences have aroused new hopes, new ambitions, and stimulated the desire to travel and seek new adventures, in new and strange worlds.

This is today the most romantic period in the history of the whole world; not even the period of the discovery of America has influenced man's imagination more. And, still more significant, this flare for adventure in the modern world has not merely taken possession of the upper classes, the literati and the intellectuals, but has penetrated to the great masses of the people who in previous generations, and until very recent years, have been living in the peaceful seclusion of their peasant communities.

Migration has had the effect of an emancipation, upon most of the immigrant peoples. But books and literature have greatly enhanced the effects of these migrations. And now the printing-press has been supplemented by the cinema and the radio. The American films, with their realistic and thrilling pictures of American life, have transmitted to the Orient some of the restlessness and romanticism of the Occident. Particularly in the outlying regions and among the common people, where America is more a legendary place than it is elsewhere, the effect of the American movies has been more devastating than elsewhere.

A few years ago the average man in China and in Japan got his most lively conceptions of America from two sources: the returned immigrant and the missionary. From the former, America acquired the title "the mountain of gold." From the latter, the oriental students sometimes gained the impression that America was a nation of missionaries. These sources of information have since been superseded by a press founded more or less upon western models; a press, at any rate, that is directed more or less to an understanding of the common man. But, as Walter B. Pitkin has pointed out, in discussing Japanese-American relations, the news despatches are no longer the most important sources of knowledge and understanding of the Occident by the Orient. "They are," he says, "little more than confirmatory of hypotheses which they [the Japanese] derive from another source so much more widely known in the islands, so vivid, and so copious that every other channel of knowledge has become petty in comparison. This source is the American motion-picture."

The films exported to Asia, to the West Indies, and to South America are largely of two classes: those which have failed in America because they were inferior, and, as Pitkin puts it, are "dumped on the helpless heathen, who can pay only the lowest rentals, and hence ought not to expect much," or they are films that have never been exhibited in America because they were forbidden by the board of censors. "The mildest description of these films," he says, "is unfit to print. Yet missionaries and business men both testify that they are being shown regularly in all the larger cities of Asia, and a high official of the government of India personally told me that the effect of these loathsome displays on the natives of that country was so evil that plans for a severe censorship were being considered, especially against what Asia knows as the American film." In Japan a censorship has already been established, and a similar censorship would be established in China, I am told, if China were master of her own house.

The cinema may be regarded as the symbol of a new dimension of our international and racial relations which is neither economic nor political, but cultural. But culture is merely the objective and collective aspect of the inner and personal life of individuals and peoples, and it is in men's minds and in their intimate personal experiences that the most profound and significant changes in the world are taking place today. It is in the obscure, dream-haunted

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recesses of our inner lives that the future of the world is taking form and shape.

As long as races and peoples remained imprisoned within the limits of their differing languages; as long as we knew them only through records of their overt acts, communication was difficult and understanding not always possible. But the silent drama is now bringing the great masses of peoples, who have known each other only indirectly and at second hand, face to face. In the movies we see strange peoples in action, and these actions reveal to us behind their alien manners and foreign faces, passions that we can both understand and share; motives that we admire or fear or hate.

It is impossible to estimate at the present time the consequences which the realism of the motion pictures is likely to bring about in the relations of races and peoples. It has at least brought the ends of the earth into an intimacy unimaginable a few years ago. In this intimacy all that was individual, strange and peculiar in the customs and manners of different races and peoples has been brought into solution and is in process of change. If America was once in any exclusive sense the melting pot of races, it is so no longer. The melting pot is the world.

The really new factors in international and race relations are the devices like the cinema and the radio; these, with the rapidly increasing literacy, are steadily bringing all the peoples of the earth measurably within the limits of a common culture and a common historical life.

V. The Race Relations Cycle

THE impression that emerges from this review of international and race relations is that the forces which have brought about the existing interpenetration of peoples are so vast and irresistible that the resulting changes assume the character of a cosmic process. New means of communication enforce new contacts and result in new forms of competition and of conflict. But out of this confusion and ferment, new and more intimate forms of association arise.

The changes which are taking place on the Pacific Coast—"the last asylum," in the language of Professor Ross, "of the native-born"—are part of the changes that are going on in every other part of the world. Everywhere there is competition and conflict; but everywhere the intimacies which participation in a common life enforces have created new accommodations, and relations which were merely formal or utilitarian have become personal and human.

In the relations of races there is a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself. Exploration invariably opens new regions for commercial exploitation; the missionary, as has frequently been said, becomes the advance agent of the trader. The exchange of commodities involves in the long run the competition of goods and of persons. The result is a new distribution of population and a new and wider division of labor.

The new economic organization, however, inevitably becomes the basis for a new political order. The relations of races and people are never for very long merely economic and utilitarian, and no efforts to conceive them in this way have ever been permanently successful. We have imported labor as if it were mere commodity, and sometimes we have been disappointed to find, as we invariably do, that the laborers were human like ourselves. In this way it comes about that race relations which were economic become later political and cultural. The struggle for existence terminates in a struggle for status, for recognition, for position and prestige, within an existing political and moral order. Where such a political and moral order does not exist, war, which is the most elementary expression of political forces, creates one. For the ultimate effect of war has been, on the whole, to establish and extend law and order in regions where it did not previously exist.

The race relations cycle which takes the form, to state it abstractly, of contacts, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation, is apparently progressive and irreversible. Customs regulations, immigration restrictions and racial barriers may slacken the tempo of the movement; may perhaps halt it altogether for a time; but cannot change its direction; cannot at any rate, reverse it.

In our estimates of race relations we have not reckoned with the effects of personal intercourse and the friendships that inevitably grow up out of them. These friendships, particularly in a democratic society like our own, cut acoss and eventually undermine all the barriers of racial segregation and caste by which races seek to maintain their integrity.

It was the intimate and personal relations which grew up between the Negro slave and his white master that undermined and weakened the system of slavery from within, long before it was attacked from without. Evidence of this was the steady increase, in spite of public opinion and legislation to the contrary, of the number of free Negroes and emancipated slaves in the South. Men who believed the black man fore-ordained to be the servant of the white were unwilling to leave the servants they knew to the mercy of the system when they were no longer able to protect them.

In spite of the bitter antagonism that once existed toward the Chinese, the attitude of the Pacific coast is now generally amiable, even indulgent; and this in spite of the nuisance of their tong wars and other racial eccentricities. The Chinese population is slowly declining in the United States, but San Francisco, at any rate, will miss its Chinese quarter when it goes.

There has never been the antagonism toward the Japanese in this country that there once was toward the Chinese. Even such antagonism as existed has always been qualified by a genuine admiration for the Japanese people as a whole. Now that the exclusion law seems finally to have put an end to Japanese immigration, there is already a disposition to relax the laws which made the permanent settlement of Orientals on the Pacific coast untenable.

It does not follow that because the tendencies to the assimilation and eventual amalgamation of races exist, they should not be resisted and, if possible, altogether inhibited. On the other hand, it is vain to underestimate the character and force of the tendencies that are drawing the races and peoples about the Pacific into the ever narrowing circle of a common life. Rising tides of color and oriental exclusion laws are merely incidental evidences of these diminishing distances.

In the Hawaiian Islands, where all the races of the Pacific meet and mingle on more liberal terms than they do elsewhere, the native races are disappearing and new peoples are coming into existence. Races and cultures die—it has always been so—but civilization lives on.

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EDITORIALS

BELIEVERS in constitutional government have a stake in what is transpiring in Passaic, New Jersey. In a time when dictatorship and resort to irresponsible rule have gained headway from Communist Russia to Fascist Italy, we have here at hand a searching challenge to those of us who hold to free institutions to prove by our works that justice, fair play and liberty are not bunk in our history books but living realities in America.

The strike of the textile workers there has been going on for twelve weeks. The ten thousand wage-earners concerned are largely foreign-born. To date, they have a clean slate in the matter of violence, but the events of the past month, and especially of the last fortnight, have been of a sort to undermine their respect for our law and our order. This is not a thing to be taken lightly by those workers, by Americans generally, or by mankind.

Passaic is one of the constellations of industrial communities at the mouth of the Hudson. Its banking, its shipping, its invested capital, its working force enter into the web of manufacturing operations of the metropolitan district that spreads out like a fan over parts of Connecticut, New York and New Jersey. The well-being of every such industrial community is bound up in the well-being of the entire district. The breakdown of civil government, or the distortion of justice, in any part of that district jeopardizes the fair name of the whole. Responsibility for the tolerance of such conditions rests on every citizen throughout the entire metropolitan area, and public opinion must make itself felt throughout its length and breadth, or we are living in a fool's paradise.

THERE are two interlocking situations at Passaic: one industrial, the other civil, which flows from it. For it is the economic maladjustment which is the underlying problem; an enduring charge on thinking and constructive planning in an industrial civilization.

At the end of twelve weeks, neither the public at large, the business community, trade organizations, the regular trade unions, the state government of New Jersey, nor the national government had taken effective action to compose the grave issues in industrial relations at the bottom of the strike and bring about negotiation, conciliation or arbitration that would settle it in fairness. In the last analysis, their failure to act is the failure of the public to demand action and to get it.

That a baffling market condition confronted the employers and entered into broken time and wage cuts is recognized. But that the strikers have held out week after week is evidence that they have grievances that are real to them. That it remained for a communist to champion, organize and lead them, underscores the indifference of their neighbors.

IF anything, the civil situation is of more immediate public concern, for it is the rights of citizens generally that have been compromised in Passaic, Garfield and the adjoining municipalities. The press has spread the record of these things: free speech denied, halls closed, ruthless violence by officers of the law and failure of the courts to hold them to book, wholesale arrests of the strike leaders and of citizens under old and musty laws, huge hurdles of bail set up, preposterous injunctions invoked, and riot acts resorted to in ways which force the conclusion that the obligation of the local authorities to preserve the peace has become entangled in their minds with a determination to break the strike. Whether pressure from the mills, the publicity tactics of strike leaders, or the confused thinking and brash action of local officials is to blame for these occurrences is beside the mark. When confronted with a sequence of acts which smash our liberties and make a travesty of orderly government in a neighboring community, the public at large cannot pass by on the other side of the road.

What happens in Passaic happens in the greatest industrial district in the United States. What happens in that district is the measure of American democracy in the eyes of the world.

The New York and New Jersey public cannot escape its responsibility for what is transpiring. We urge every reader of The Survey, especially every New York reader, and more especially every New Jersey reader, to bear a part in turning that responsibility into action. We urge them to make their views known to the responsible government officials, municipal, county, state and national, to the bar, to trade and business organizations, to the church and civic bodies. We urge them to call on these agencies of public opinion and action to exert themselves in such ways as are open to them, to help compose what has become a desperate industrial situation, and to help set right what has become an intolerable civic wrong.

BRINGING to this country her first-hand knowledge of the new school movement in Europe, Beatrice Ensor, editor of the New Era and chairman of the International Progressive Education Conference at Heidelberg a year ago, is spending several months in the United States, studying

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our experimental schools and speaking on the work of the modern schools of England and the Continent. Mrs. Ensor has had a "free" school of her own in England. Her magazine is a clearing house for facts and theories of progressive education abroad. She has unlimited faith in the creative spirit of young children and in the schools which are more interested in a child's growth than in the upbuilding of a particular system of education. She finds in the new schools of New York the same flexibility, the same eagerness to experiment and to grow simply and quietly and naturally that characterizes the older and more widely-known schools, such as the Decroly and Schwarzenwaldschule. Perhaps only an American can realize how completely this educational attitude is confined to a few sections of the country and how little it has as yet touched our vast public school system.

The visit of Beatrice Ensor to the United States and her contacts with many communities and organizations here may well be the means of kindling a wider interest, and opening doors of experience and self-expression for more American children.

BELLEVUE HOSPITAL, the oldest municipal institution in New York city, is again in the headines in the New York press. But in a new way. There have often been "exposés"; some particular instance of actual or alleged bad treatment of a patient has come to the notice of an enterprising seeker after news, and a headline alleging grave shortcomings in the city hospitals has found credulous readers.

This time the seeker after news is the new city administration—Mayor Walker and his most important colleagues in the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. They have gone to see for themselves not alleged rumored instances of bad treatment, but buildings known to be unsuitable. They have gone in the daytime, accompanied by newspapermen with their eyes open. They have seen at first hand how a building erected in 1814 looks when it is doing active hospital service in 1926, instead of settling down comfortably behind their desks in the City Hall and smiling complacently. Mayor Walker, it is understood, is going to follow the same course with other municipal hospital and institutions.

During the Hylan administration, the Departments of Health and Welfare, and Bellevue and Allied Hospitals appealed for approximately $29,000,000 to rehabilitate the institutions. The State Charities Aid Association, on the basis of personal knowledge of conditions in the institutions endorsed the efforts of the responsible departments to obtain necessary funds, and recommended about $14,000,000 as immediately necessary for the more important and pressing needs. More than one hundred civic organizations joined the association in appealing to the city administration to eliminate fire-traps and provide needed new buildings. Mayor Hylan's response was to declare that the association was acting in behalf of "the interests" and trying to divert money from municipal subway construction.

To Mayor Walker, accustomed to the give and take of legislative life for many years, it seems worth while to find out what the facts are. It appears that he is not afraid of letting the light into the situation even though substantial appropriations will be demanded from the public treasury if the facts are known. The augury is bright for the wards of the city.

WHEN the National Conference of Social Work goes to Cleveland it goes to an inland, hometown self-sufficient city. Though it has its ties with New England historically and with New York commercially, it is definitely out of the seaboard zone. It is the more interesting that in Cleveland, and with a president who hails from Colorado, the Conference of 1926 should have the international flavor which preliminary announcements of the program indicate. At the beginning and end of the week's general sessions the theme will be world fellowship—more particularly, international fellowship in social work. Dr. Richard C. Cabot, just home from Europe, will share with the conference president the opening session on May 26; Dame Rachel Crowdy, head of the Department of Social Questions of the League of Nations, closes the conference on June 2.

Among the domestic issues to be considered at the other evening sessions the problem of coal, with an evening to itself, looms large. There is good hope for such a meeting in a city which, if rumor be correct, contributed an effective mediator to the anthracite strike. If by this means the conference can further the creation of an informed group among social workers to bear a part toward the even greater struggle of the bituminous fields anticipated a year hence—such a group as Mr. Bruère pleads for in The Survey for March 15, the fifty-third annual session will have its own distinction.

Howard R. Knight, executive of the Ohio Welfare Conference who becomes the new secretary of the National Conference of Social Work

It will be a grand Old Home Week for all the youngsters who have been scattered up and down the community chest field by the Cleveland Welfare Federation. And there will be no Follies—midnight or otherwise.

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A NEW CYCLE OF CATHAY

(*Continued from page* 185)

who apparently has an appreciation of the present popular movement. Like him, his military underlings, wherever they are put in authority, at once inaugurate an era of good government, better roads, better education and law and order.

A case in point is the administration of the metropolitan area under his general, Hsueh Tu Pi, civil governor of Kansu during Feng's control. The eighteen counties around Peking form a sort of District of Columbia under the metropolitan mayor. The office of the mayor is in Peking and he administers a small area around his office, although the city itself is ruled by a municipal council independent of him. In his first six months of office in Peking, Mayor Hsueh organized a "model village" immediately around his yamen as a demonstration for the benefit of the head men of the villages in the metropolitan area of how a village should be run. The streets are in good order; small public parks have been put in; every child in the area goes to school; a modern playground has been initiated; a health center with a visiting nurse has been organized; a democratic village administration, modelled on the basis of old village life but of a more democratic nature, has been inaugurated. Besides, the mayor opened a large public park and a museum in Peking's ancient drum tower for the benefit of the people. He cooperated in the establishment of a maternity hospital in order to train midwives and health workers for the eighteen counties over which he had jurisdiction. He called to his aid medical experts, educational experts, and physical directors to inaugurate a new and healthy life throughout the countryside. Needless to add, his soldiers maintained law and order and paid for what they bought—an unusual habit among the soldiers of some armies.

Improvements of this kind are begun wherever General Feng's army commanders have control and—even more significant—there seems to be some appreciation at least on the part of General Feng of the value of popular cooperation in what he is trying to do. These improvements are not merely an exhibit of autocratic efficiency, but mark the beginnings of a popular movement. In particular, Mayor Hsueh identified himself very closely with the mass education movement and chose one of his counties, Tunghsien, as a demonstration area for a thoroughly organized effort to make the whole country literate, under the leadership of James Yen and his experts. Going even further, he lent his help to this same association in a thorough social survey of this county to be conducted under the direct supervision of Sidney D. Gamble, who has spent some years in social research in Peking and is the author of Peking, a Social Survey.

No doubt this sounds like a paean of praise for General Feng. I disclaim any attempt to maintain that he is the future savior of China. There is no man about whom there is greater difference of opinion than General Feng. Many of his actions in the past, especially in connection with the driving out of President Li Yuan Hung, are inexplicable. How clear his motives are it is hard to say. He is described alternately as absolutely unscrupulous and as the one true patriot among all the war lords. But there can be no doubt of the salutary effects of his administration and of that of his subordinates over any territory over which they have already had jurisdiction. It is always wholesome, progressive and constructive.

The Communists form a fourth group which may exert great influence in moulding new Chinese institutions. They have all the advantages of unity and a clear program. They have the success of Russia to copy. At present in Canton the students' army is a close-knit group with such a unified purpose. In the country at large there is no question but that the elements which would make for such a group already exist. There are notable intellectual leaders as well as groups of students throughout the country who have a common theory of the way to meet the present situation. Li Shih Tseng—professor in the National Government University, a returned student from France, son of an ex-prime minister under the Manchu dynasty—is an illustration of the type. He has a definite Marxian program. He is anti-clerical. He apparently is not interested in building up a fortune for himself, but gives away money largely for helping students. His diet is of the simplest. Outside of his teaching, his time is devoted to the propagation of his doctrine by public address and by the written page. There are many such intellectual leaders in China and their number is growing. It is at least conceivable that a turn in political events may throw these men together into one solidly united group similar to the Communist party in Russia.

THE strength of Russia in China today is due to the fact that the Russians relatively more than other nationals appreciate the new forces. In one of the leading Peking newspapers, as I write, a daily debate is being carried on as to whether or not China should continue to hold a friendly attitude towards Russia. A few months ago the majority held that China's best friend was Russia. Had she not abolished extraterritoriality of her own free will? Had she not made large promises of restoring land formerly seized by the Tzar? Had she not been consistently urging China to assert her independence and to throw off the bondage imposed upon her by Western capitalistic imperialism? But the passage of a few months has revealed to many that Russia was not wholly altruistic in her dealings in connection with the Chinese Eastern Railway and that the vast territories which she agreed to return to China, which would extend all the way to Irkutusk, if agreements were literally carried out, are not actually to be given back. An increasing number of Chinese are pointing out that much of the purely destructive propaganda advocated by China's young men is due to Russian influence. Still, on the whole, Chinese opinion claims that, as compared with European powers and America, Russia has proven herself the better friend to China.

In a recent interview C. T. Wang, former premier and present head of the Bureau of Russian Relations, depicted the changing attitude of the Chinese people towards Russia by a homely illustration. He said that one could forgive a certain looseness of life on the part of the ordinary business or professional man, but when one finds a bishop of the church associating with public women and occasionally intoxicated, he is greatly grieved and surprised. Russia is in the place of the bishop; she made great pretentions at righteousness and of her great things were expected. Indignation against Russia is not so much because she is worse than other countries—indeed, she is acting much better so far as China is concerned—but because of disappointment

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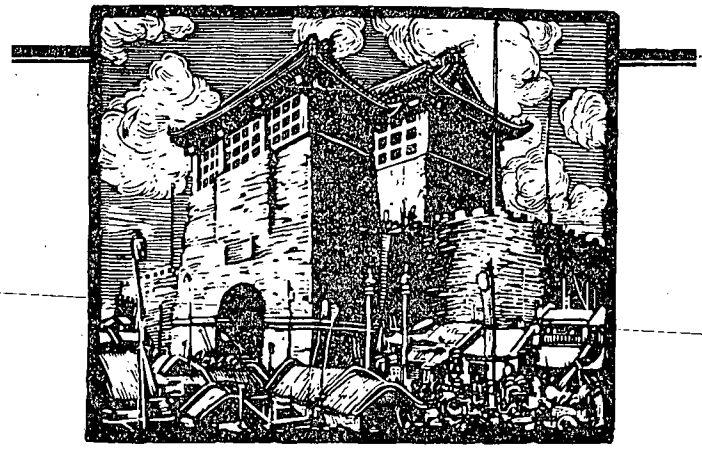

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for her failure to live up to her pretentions. Mr. Wang flouted the idea that Russia was the predominating influence in the Far Eastern situation. He claimed that China long ago tried out Communism and there is no danger—however friendly foreign relations may be—of China's adopting the Communist program. The best features of Communism, according to him, are embodied in the Chinese family system and in the social life of China, so free from class distinctions.

In spite of Mr. Wang's statements, it appears that there are in practically all the large colleges in China close-knit and powerful minorities, among both teachers and professors, who are ardent disciples of the Communist doctrine. Just how wide their influence will be in the future again is a question depending largely on the attitudes of the various foreign nations towards China.

The question of the relative strength of the Communist party, sympathetic with the Russians, and of more moderate groups, as I have said, is to be answered at least partly by the policy of America, England and Japan towards China, especially by that of America. Any lack of appreciation of the national aspirations of the new China and hostility to them may make America appear what Russia makes her out to be—a capitalistic and imperialistic nation which is cooperating with other European nations to prolong the bondage of China.

In a recent conversation C. T. Wang remarked to me that of course the Chinese people are not hostile to America. They consider her, however, rather foolish. They know that she does not understand the situation here as well as either England or Japan and that she is being used by these nations to carry out their own policy. He held that the only possible course for America, both for America's future good and her international trade relations, and for China, was to come out with an independent, liberal policy irrespective of the plans of imperialistic European nations.

I wish to reiterate that the problem of China is not primarily an industrial one. Certain experts such as Bertrand Russell and Harry Ward are apt to read into China a development and effect of modern industry far out of proportion to what has taken place thus far. Although industrial development is among the most significant trends in modern China yet its influence has not yet gone far beyond the immediate environs of a few large cities. The attempt of the British Labor Party to interpret the whole uprising in Shanghai as the result of indignation over the exploitation of Chinese labor by western capital is thoroughly to misread the essentials of the situation. Chinese employers treat their laborers just as badly, if not worse, then the westerners. The question of child labor, pressing as it certainly is, is not the essential one in this situation.

And it also appears to me to be a false reading of the present turmoil to attribute it to Bolshevik propaganda. There are plenty of causes for the existing national feeling, without assigning it wholly to disturbances worked up artificially by Communists. The large majority of the agitators and the overwhelming majority of the people of China are not at all favorable to Communism. The real question is one of a new self-respect, of the birth of a new consciousness and of a new nationalism which is changing the face of Chinese social organization and of Chinese life and which unquestionably will be the molding force in the future of the Chinese nation.

The Chinese people are naturally neither extreme nor unreasonable. They have come to a point, however, where they demand autonomy in their national life. They demand the things which everyone in the West takes for granted as the privileges of a nation. Undoubtedly the transitional period will be one of many difficulties, both for foreign trade and for missionary enterprises, but the problem can only be solved by those who have a sympathetic and understanding spirit and are willing to trust the forces of new life so powerful and so evident in China today.

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WE SAID: "LET'S FIND THE FACTS"

(*Continued from page* 140)

whose own comfort or economic status depended very directly upon the presence of an oriental population.

THE fact that the Pacific Coast is divided so definitely on this question intensified the difficulties which an impartial and scientific study always has to face. It was not so much the groups which refused to participate that created these difficulties as it was the attitude of certain organizations which welcomed the survey in the belief that it would provide them with excellent publicity material either for or against the Oriental, and who were therefore ready to swallow the project hook, bait and sinker.

While the Japanese Exclusion League, whose very able leader is V. S. McClatchey, gave the survey every assistance, the American Legion, the Native Sons of the Golden West and organized labor were tentative in their participation, or else remained definitely aloof.

"This is a very important proposition with very large possibilities for usefulness," said the secretary of the Japanese Exclusion League:

> It gives promise of getting the facts to the public by a technique and organization which will give the public faith and interest in the facts. . . I doubt whether the investigation will bring in evidence opposed to the policies of the Exclusion League, or the statements of fact that I have made, but if it does bring in clear evidence of error, I am willing to face it and adjust my position to it.

The loyal support of the Japanese Exclusion League was from first to last one of the largest factors in the success of the movement.

The relation of the American Legion to the survey was stated bluntly but honestly by one of its Seattle officials:

> We Legion men don't mind joining with your committee in this survey, but we have gone on record with a policy of opposition to the Oriental and if the survey should dig up facts that show against that policy we would have to drop out of the game and oppose it. I don't see how we can work with you. I do not personally believe in some of the extreme positions taken by the American Legion in its agitation, but I believe it is necessary to be extreme in order to awaken people to the Japanese danger. A statement of the plain facts won't interest people or move them. On a long shot you have got to aim above the bull's eye if you are going to hit it. For this reason I doubt if such a survey as you suggest would have much value.

Although the cooperation of many individual members of the order of the Native Sons was gained, the organization itself did not cooperate in the survey. The suspicion of one of the leaders when he read my business card was expressed thus:

> I know who you are and where you have come from. You are from Japan and you are a spy of the Mikado. I can see right through you and your proposition. It's a round-about road from Tokyo to Los Angeles via New York, but this is a beautiful little plan for undoing what we have done here on this coast and it was drawn up by the Japanese government, and that government is paying you this very minute. I'll not come to your luncheon and I'll have nothing to do with your project.

"Too many preachers in this crowd for me," said a leader of federated labor, as he left the organizing luncheon of the survey in San Francisco. "It's loaded with religion and capital. Who's going to pay for it, anyway? Capital. The capitalists will pay for it and the church will run it and either way labor will get flim-flammed. You have to count me out." The president of the Oregon State Federation of Labor and the secretary-treasurer of the Trades and Labor Federation of British Columbia both joined the local executive committee of the survey, and various local labor councils and local editors also gave it their support.

"Federated Labor has no quarrel with the Japanese," remarked the president of the Seattle Labor Council:

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State of New York,
County of New York, ss.

Before me, a Commissioner of Deeds, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Arthur Kellogg, who, having been duly sworn, according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of the SURVEY GRAPHIC, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication, for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse side of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 Street, New York City; Editor, Paul U. Kellogg, 112 East 19 Street, New York City; Managing Editor, Geddes Smith, 112 East 19 Street, New York City; Business Managers, Arthur Kellogg, John D. Kenderdine, 112 East 19 Street, New York City.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.) Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19 St., New York City, a non-commercial corporation under the laws of the State of New York with over 1,800 members. It has no stocks or bonds. President, Robert W. deForest, 30 Broad Street, New York, N. Y.; Vice-Presidents, Julian W. Mack, 1224 Woolworth Building, New York, N. Y.; V. Everit Macy "Chilmark," Scarborough-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Secretary, Ann Reed Brenner, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.; Treasurer, Arthur Kellogg, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N. Y.

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[Signed] ARTHUR KELLOGG, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of March, 1926.

[Seal] MARTHA HOHMANN, Commissioner of Deeds, City of New York.
New York Co. Clerk's No. 148. New York Co. Register's No. 26032.
My Commission Expires May 20, 1926.

Twenty years ago it tried to drive them out. Failing in that it began to cultivate them and finally organized them into unions. There are now five Japanese locals connected with the Seattle Labor Council and one outside. We feel much nearer to Japanese labor than we do to white capitalists. They are our brothers. It is for the best interests of the Japanese that too many of them do not come here, but we must treat right those that are here. I am sure that the labor organizations of Washington will wish to take part in a study of this problem.

A little later the president of the Washington State Federation appointed his deputy to sit on the regional survey committee, and suggested the names of labor leaders in the chief cities of the state whom he thought would want to help the work.

In the pro-oriental camp, considerable reluctance to participate in the survey was displayed by every oriental group except the Japanese, and by some of the churches. One California clergyman informed us that the contact of the races was governed by biological laws and that nothing in man's intelligence or moral convictions could change the working of those laws. A prominent clergyman of the Northwest, when asked in a questionnaire on what subjects in the field of race relations on the Pacific coast he would like more light, replied "None, I understand them all already." Another type of minister, convinced that the church could conduct the survey and that only in such leadership would a just solution to race relations be found, made a characteristic remark when he said "I have in mind a young pastor out of work for research director of this survey. He is just the man you need. Tell me what salary you can pay him and I will have him in a week and we can go right ahead and clean this thing up."

FOR a generation the Pacific coast has been fed upon a diet of selected facts regarding the Oriental. Out of the huge reservior of accumulated experience and factual material regarding the Oriental, his friends and opponents alike had adroitly but naturally picked those items which fitted the partisan picture which they were drawing. Each side claimed to have the authentic likeness of the situation. Each charged the other with misrepresentation. As a matter of fact, both sides were right in so far as the facts and situations which they presented were true of certain places and individuals and situations up and down the coast. But both were wrong in ignoring equally pertinent and abundant evidence that was not suited to supporting their claims. What was needed was a statement comprehensive enough to supply all the racial facts on the 2,000-mile Pacific frontier from which a complete picture of the Orientals and their relationship to the whites could be gained.

This was a large order. The fact, however, that many individuals and organizations who were at first suspicious of the survey later relinquished that suspicion, and that when the tentative findings were released for press publication they were accepted without great protest by the parties of both camps, shows that the survey has to some extent served the purpose for which it was intended.

A year and four months after the survey had started, I received a letter from the labor leader of northern California who had withdrawn at the start because of "too much capital and church influence," asking me to come in to see him. Said he, "Before you leave this coast I want to tell you that we labor men have decided that this survey is a good thing and that it's on the square. You know how suspicious we felt at first about you and about this survey; how we thought that it was loaded and that it would only make trouble for us. But we have been watching it; we have read the survey's tentative reports and findings and we have changed our minds and want you to know it. From now on we're for the survey. If there is anything that we labor men can do to help you on this in the future we want to do it."

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THEIR PLACE IN THE SUN

(*Continued from page* 145)

lectured to the women of the Japanese community on household economics, but she had to speak through an interpreter. This seemed to the colony an indictment of her education. In college this girl had been a belle, having many American friends and admirers. There was a time, she admitted, when she had not decided whether she thought it was best to marry an American or a Japanese, but she finally decided in favor of a Japanese, providing he was native-born. Her husband is a physician, and in order to assist him with his practise, she is now belatedly learning to speak the Japanese language.

No Messiah has yet appeared among the children of Livingston, but there is one girl in the colony whose bent seems to be distinctly in another direction. This girl, a handsome youngster of seventeen who goes around with American boys, wants to be an actress. The colony is shocked at the idea. They are also shocked at the fact that she is reading everything which the town library affords. Neither the romances of the town library nor the thrillers of the town movie-house seem to the Livingston Christians quite suitable for their children. The result of this surveillance is naturally that the Japanese children occasionally slip away to the movies when they are supposed to be attending Christian Endeavor.

Another ideal which the Japanese parents have for their children is that they should all graduate from college. None of them seem to be in the least anxious that their children should stay on the land that they have acquired and could pass on to them. This desire for college degrees is a little overwrought, seeing that not all of the children in the colony probably have the wish or the intelligence to finish college. It is possible that one solution for some of these worried-over Japanese children is that they will stay on their fathers' farms, especially when those farms are large enough. In one case, where the Japanese family employs six Mexican families to do the field work, this has already occurred and the son directs the work.

The temper and anxiety of the colony about the success of their experiment were bluntly expressed by a very capable woman at a church meeting, where the Japanese men and women, a little tight and reserved in their American clothes, looked fondly and with bewilderment at their American children who were conversing with the carelessness and grace of American adolescents. Surprise, shock and laughter greeted her speech. What she said in brief was:

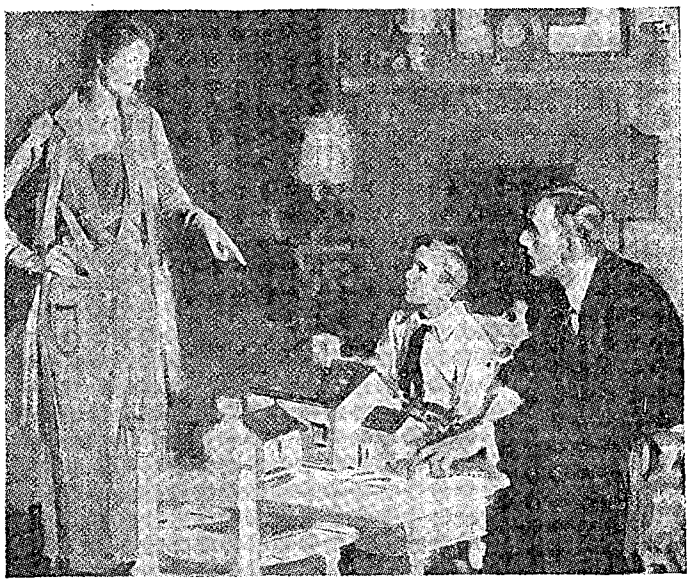
"When I was still in Japan, my husband, who was not then my husband, wrote to me and said: 'I cannot offer you money, but I can offer you freedom.' So I came. But I have found no freedom in America. Instead I feel as though I were being pushed against a wall."

This woman expressed herself even more directly when she said: "My boy has now reached the parting of the ways. He is a good boy, but he does not like his studies and he stays out visiting girls until eleven o'clock at night. If he goes this way; everything that my husband and I have done will be all right. If he goes that way"—she bent her left palm outward—"I will not know why we came to this country."

THE LAND, THE CROPS AND THE ORIENTAL

(*Continued from page* 149)

monotony and drudgery. It is doubtful whether we care to have Americans do this kind of work, even assuming that they could compete economically. (*Continued on page* 206)



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* * * *

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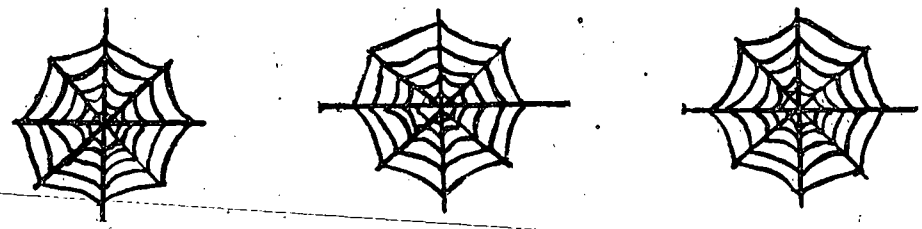

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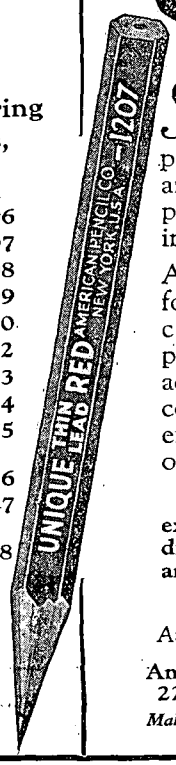

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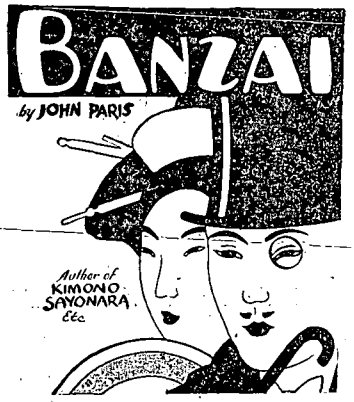

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THE LAND, THE CROPS AND THE ORIENTAL

(*Continued from page* 203)

The great land question in California is whether to encourage these intensive industries mainly unsuited to American standards of living, promote other crops perhaps less profitable to the land areas, or let the land lie fallow; whether to continue using the Oriental (if possible) or some other race, such as the Mexican or Filipino—fresh importations are apparently needed in any case—or to supplant them through the introduction of machinery.

For some crops the most efficient substitute that could possibly be made for the Japanese seems to be the use of machinery. It has been found that women operating machines in the fruit packing houses, can now pack a greater quantity with less expense than was previously done by expert Japanese hand packers. Thus at least one phase of the fruit industry has passed completely out of the hands of the Japanese. F. H. Rindge, a potato grower in the Delta region who last year had the world's record for production per acre, has had remarkable success with a potato-digging machine which supplants from 15 to 20 Orientals. It is safe to assume that the future will see still greater advances in this direction.

The Oriental demands as high a wage as any labor in the state; as a laborer he works the regular hours and is most effective on a piece-rate basis; when all rewards go to him he is inclined to work himself and his family as long as they can keep awake; he will do work that no one else seems willing to do, and do it very well. He has easy advantages over his competitors—be they laborers, tenants or owners—because he is wonderfully well organized, never out of a job, and can live on far less income. The competition, after all, is not fair to persons of a higher standard of living, yet it is a question how far actual competition within given agricultural pursuits may be said to exist. For with the passage and partial enforcement of the anti-alien land laws, the American tenant farmer (also usually an owner of some land which he cannot work) is no longer so vehement in the agitation in which he has been the true central figure. In fact, he wonders where will be the source of his labor supply.

Oriental agriculture in California is now in a passing phase. Who are the rural workers of the future? Forty years ago, the Chinese performed over three-quarters of the agricultural work. More recently, the Japanese have been the mainstay for certain types of crops, notably garden truck. But the oriental cheap labor of the past has gone to the cities—at any rate, it is disappearing from farm and ranch. Anti-alien land laws are fast driving the decreasing number of Asiatics away from rural pursuits. The second generation—Chinese, Italian, Japanese, and Portuguese—are becoming too Americanized to be laborers; most of them want city jobs. If there is a continued cry against the Orientals, it will more than ever come from the labor unions and the urban interests who have unwittingly perhaps brought about the New Competition.

SOCIAL DISTANCE: A MEASURING STICK

(*Continued from page* 170)

as noted in the first column, are due to personal experiences of a pleasing nature with a few immigrants of a given race. If a person has previously had a neutral attitude, then one or two agreeable experiences will suffice, but if he has had an unfavorable attitude, then many pleasing encounters will be necessary to produce a "more favorable" opinion. To quote a teacher:

(*Continued on page* 208)

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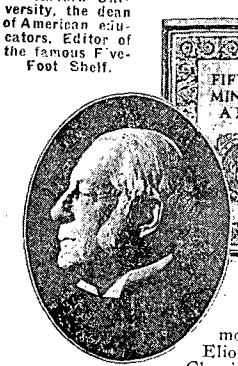

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Before I came to California I knew nothing about the Japanese and naturally was not interested. Now, I don't know much more, but I met a Japanese girl, who has had a very hard time to adjust herself to her environment, because of the treatment she and members of her race received. In my work in the evening school here I have had a number of Japanese people in my classes. Always they are very appreciative and courteous and they usually learn quickly. Consequently, I am more sympathetic, when they are treated so harshly by the United States than I would be otherwise.

Even in fiction the Japanese are pictured as the treacherous villain, but talking with an educated Japanese, or living near one and taking notice of the effort he is putting forth to overcome his natural traits seems to make me feel that they should be given a chance.

On the other hand, an unpleasant experience with a single Japanese will quickly change a person's opinion, and perhaps his attitude, from favorable to less favorable. The figures in the second column are to be accounted for usually by one or a few unfortunate experiences or by a few adverse experiences by "hearsay." Changes in group opinion, the data show, follow similar rules.

The type of immigrant and the type of American that meet in social contacts are important. If the immigrant be an illiterate Japanese peasant and the American a cultured person of the traditional sort, social distances will be great. If the former be cultured and the latter broad-minded and sympathetic, then social distances will likely be short.

PERHAPS the most important question of all is: How do social distances originate? That is to say, what are the origins of race prejudice? Several hundred persons on the Pacific coast have been asked to describe the experiences which attended the origin of their antipathetic racial feelings.

These fall into three main groups. The first and by far the largest type was indirect and acquired in childhood and youthhood. It consisted of anti-racial traditions and opinions that had been caught from the atmosphere of the home, the newspapers, or the church. These had been entered into imaginatively, and so thoroughly and repeatedly that they had acquired the force of actual experiences, as in this case:

> I do not even know a representative of this people; never glimpsed a Turk in gentle or savage mood, never, except in imagination, but I have derived from the lurid headlines of newspapers, from articles on pseudo-political intrigue, from stories of their atrocities to missionaries; and now I hear of the young Turk, with his intellectual veneer, but who is the same unspeakable old Turk beneath.

Then, social distance, like "unfavorable changes" in racial opinion, originates in a few unpleasant personal experiences. If these occur in childhood they are usually accompanied by strong emotions of fear:

> When I was eight years old, I went for a hike in the hills and on returning I had to pass through some Chinese vegetable gardens where a Chinese was seemingly picking strawberries. When I came along, he jumped out and grabbed me, but I started running, with him close behind. He yelled something at me in Chinese. Finally I reached home, but ever after that I (an adult) have been much afraid of Chinese.
>
> My prejudice against the Japanese dated from the night we heard terrible sounds coming from a Japanese farm house. My father went to investigate, and I was afraid my father would be killed. Many nights after that I would jump from my sleep, believing that the Japanese were attacking me.

If the unpleasant experiences with the members of another race occur after one becomes an adult, they are likely to be accompanied by feelings of disgust or sometimes by a subtle sense of competition and fear.

An American contacting, for instance, a few Armenians at their lowest human levels, generalizes against all Armenians. The feeling reactions plus the generalizing create relatively permanent social distances.

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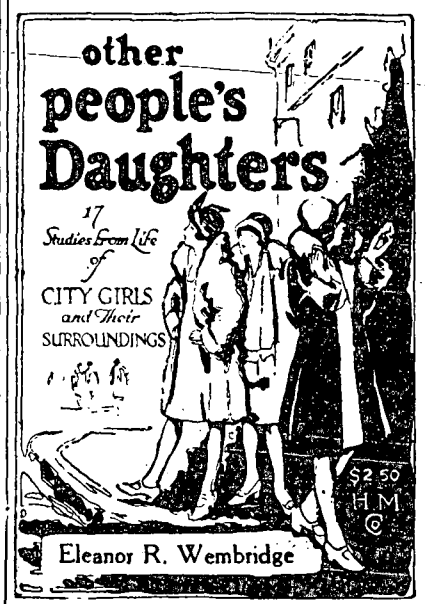

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But Americans are not peculiar in developing a sense of social distance. All people do it. For example, a young Chinese immigrant, like Chinese immigrants as a class, put the English, of all races, at the greatest social distance possible. Violent feelings of disgust based on personal observations are explanatory factors. He said:

"Let the Chinese be damned of body and soul" has been the by-word of England toward my innocent people for more than half a century. Although one of the oldest and outstanding Christian nations of the world, she has poisoned the body and mind of Chinese through the opium traffic. She is continuing this treachery with greater effort. This is unthinkable; that a God-fearing, out and out Christian nation is peddling a drug of that nature in this day and age. I cannot tolerate hypocrisy in any individual; then should I tolerate a nation as such? Decent society outlaws dope peddlers, therefore decent civilization in like manner should outlaw nations as such.

And a Japanese unwillingly admits a sense of increasing social distance:

When I came to America I thought I could trust everybody. I didn't understand when I was told to lock my room. I had not been accustomed to locking everything up, but upon my return to my room on the second day here, my new kodak and overcoat were gone. Then it became clear to me that you do not trust each other here. You have a "key" civilization in America.

And so runs the story of social distances. Only a hint of their course can be given here. Suffice it to say that everywhere they play their subtle roles. Misunderstanding and conflict are potentially present to the degree that social distance exists. Race prejudice is measurable in terms of social distance, and racial goodwill expands to the degree that social distance shrinks. The reduction of social distance anywhere by scientific research and education is apparently a sure guarantee of co-operative progress.

WESTERN WINDOWS TO THE EAST

(*Continued from page* 175)

to make public office a public trust, or among the people to prefer rulers who do not betray them. Chinese do not lack personal conscience, but the collective political conscience is still immature. Fortunately, the Chinese government is not China. Better than any other people, the Chinese have learned to do without government. If the soldiers and ex-soldier bandits will let them alone, they can keep the peace without police and do business and lead an ordered life without laws or officials. Their family and village organizations, trade guilds and secret societies, their reverence for ancient custom and their inherent stability of character, are a fair substitute. Out of so ordered a people will finally come some workable government.

But meantime the progress of the people does not have to wait on the mechanism of government. The old intellectual isolation is gone. The people, young and old, are learning to read by millions and tens of millions. "People's" groups are spreading knowledge and aspiration by word of mouth. American "movies" give them a picture, too often false, of another life. The radio next, one crystal set to a village, may spread the news, without waiting for them to learn to read, as it is doing in Russia. The Chinese peasant has burst the bonds of the village mind, and your 'ricksha coolie is thinking politics. Conflicting leaderships are dragging China in contrary directions—Young China toward occidental culture; nationalist leaders toward a modernization of its ancient culture; bolshevist emissaries toward an alien radicalism; rival *tuchuns* into provincial wars; missionaries toward Christianity and native prophets toward a reformed Buddhism and a vitalized Confucianism—but all toward an aroused national spirit. Great factories are rising in the industrial centers, with all the social evils which marked the beginning of the industrial revolution in Europe,

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These are but glimpses of the awakening of Asia. With it has come the stirring of national and racial pride. The white man's myth is exploded. He can no longer bestride the earth, claiming omniscience and omnipotence, to command the obedience of "inferior" peoples. They have learned better. When the two halves of the white world fell upon each other in Europe, they broke forever their prestige-in-the-yellow-man's, the brown man's and the black man's world. The disintegration of Europe integrated Asia. It aroused new nationalisms in its separate peoples, but also a new sense of solidarity, in their common revolt against white supremacy. Japan demanded and obtained a place at the first table of the council of nations, and now demands non-discriminatory racial treatment by its fellows at that table. The Chinese are demanding the privileges of nationality even before they establish a national government able to sustain them. India, the Philippines and Egypt demand national independence and Turkey shakes off the tutelage of centuries and joins Japan as another oriental-occidental nation. On the wings of Islam the same spirit flies through the shadows of Africa. The Riffians and the Druses revolt, and there are mutterings, probably vain, of a Holy War. The white man's civilization is still superior in guns, in machinery, in money, and in organization. No Oriental will now concede that it is superior in anything else, or that these are the permanent essentials of progress. But the Chinese observe that we deal deferentially with the Japanese, because they too have guns and strong government, and they say that if we, like certain African chieftans, lend our respect only to the show of force, they may have to stoop to dealing with us on that basis.

Asia learns, too, that the white man's lands are fat lands; that struggle and starvation are not the necessary lot of mankind, and that the white man is selfishly holding for his posterity lands which he can not use himself, against the present needs of the hungry hordes of Asia. All Asia chafes under the ban economically, and Japan resents it spiritually as an unwarranted and offensive arrogation of racial superiority.

In this awakening Asia is our opportunity, as well as our challenge. A thousand million people wait to be traded with. They want our goods, and they will strive to increase their production, to send us their goods in return. We, on our side, would like to sell them goods, but dream of being paid only in an impossible balance of money. Between those of us who want trade and those who fear competition, the battle will be fought out at home. Great investments of capital will be needed in the Orient; then we shall be concerned in politics, to protect that capital. Orientals will increasingly demand rights of us which we are not disposed to grant. In retaliation, they are masters of the boycott, and we may again have conflicts at home between those who would promote trade and those who would protect our institutions. All these things will affect all of us, and we shall all care. Our face henceforward is toward the West, which is the East, and the Pacific coast is become the front door, as well as the outlook window, of Europe and America.

Doubtless there is in all this article no fact or view not already known to Survey readers. Its purpose has been, in a swift airplane survey of the familiar, to unify its perspective.

THE LAST OF THE MAGIC ISLES
(*Continued from page* 179)

of a new industrialism erected upon one philosophy of life, invading an old civilization founded upon another philosophy of life! And curiously enough, as Kipling says, "what I have

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CONTENTS

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learned from the yellow and brown will help me a lot with the white"; the reverse is true. What the white man has learned from his own race in the last hundred and fifty years, while capitalism has been remaking industry in Europe and America, will help him a lot with the yellow and brown. For we seem to be all one kind of folks on this globe, and the same processes exactly are moving men in the Orient that moved them in the Occident when industry, under steam, first took the household arts away from the hearthstone. The process of humanizing industry—(if we may not use the phrase christianizing industry in lands which are deeply un-christianized), will probably be achieved more quickly in the Orient because of the experiences of the white man in Europe and America.

Japan has gone further than any other oriental country toward the solution of the problem. The radicals are active in Japan. Labor unions of a sort are there. Discussions between the representatives of labor and the representatives of capital, each organized and speaking for itself, are common in Japan. Social laws are passed by the Japanese Diet. The liberals are a strong minority, sometimes even in a definite majority. Japan has awakened. But in China, industry of old was a town matter, a community affair, a guild solidarity in which a sense of obligation was felt by laborer and employer alike. The differences between employer and laborer were small in China. The good of the craft was indeed the good of all as it is not in certain conditions in the newer organization of industry under capitalism in the West. So when the new condition strikes old China, when there is a divergence of interest between capital seeking large profits and labor seeking large wages, and commerce and the laws of trade taking care of the product of labor and capital, an acute situation arises. Injustice, uprisings, riots, sedition, corruption, "treason, strategems and spoils," all pour into the industrial situations in China. And something of the same thing is true of the situation in India. In the Philippine Islands, what might have become a benevolent oligarchy is badly shattered with politics and the industrial situation there is complicated with depression, stagnation and lethargy due largely to the uncertain political status of an invested dollar in the Islands.

IN Hawaii industrial conditions are not ideal. Justice has not been achieved. Wages on the whole are little above half what they are on the mainland. But race antipathies have disappeared because on the whole, and with a considerable approximate of reality, race injustices are not in vogue. By race injustices one means primarily industrial, economic, social injustices. Universal compulsory education is one of the things that has achieved industrial peace in Hawaii, for it has given the coolie hope; hope for his family, hope for his race, hope and self-respect which change the psychology of the Oriental when he enters Hawaii. He becomes a new man.

One evening a member of the Institute, a college professor from Japan, went into the town of Honolulu to address the Japanese Boy Scouts from one of the high schools, a great happy troop of them. He tried to talk to them in Japanese but they did not understand. Their vocabulary was not his in Japanese. Then he spoke in English. He tried to tell them of Japan, of its ideals, and naturally and properly he tried to give them some conception of the Japanese racial aspiration. It was a fine talk, a patriotic talk, the words of a scholar and a gentleman. When he had finished, he paused before he sat down and suggested that the boys ask questions. After a moment's silence a boy rose and said:

"Why are you Japanese so nationalistic?"

Half a dozen questions followed along the same line. The professor came back to the Institute and told his friends that the Japanese of this new generation in Hawaii are not Japanese. They do not think in Japanese. They do not even

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aspire in Japanese terms. To all intents and purposes, whatever outward lip service of citizenship they may hold, these boys he found were American—which brings us back again to where we started. Hawaii is the place where the thing which could not happen is happening!

LOOKING AT AMERICA—IN CHINA

(*Continued from page* 182)

government may be interpreted as evidence of essential foreignness. Canton Christian College won exceptional good-will by the warm-hearted statement of its faculty immediately after the Shakee shooting last June (in which one of its students and one of its best-loved teachers were mowed down by British machine-guns, along with fifty more Chinese patriots). But there were superpatriots to criticize even Canton Christian College, close as it is to Chinese hearts, when it missed one of the three holidays proclaimed at New Year's. Schools with obligatory classes in religion or compulsory chapel services are particularly open to attack. Whatever seems to impose anything foreign upon any Chinese is suspect. It will take time to heal the wounds of the past year—time, a new government policy, and a deep sympathy.

A foreign-educated Chinese Christian pastor in Peking recently gave mild expression to doubts which many Chinese Christians, hitherto sympathetic and grateful to America, are coming to feel:

> Imperialism and capitalism [he said] being so radically at variance with the spirit of Jesus, it would seem clear that the Christian should oppose them. Yet the practises which the church has developed in the course of its history are so binding that Christians do not seem to be embarrassed by the presence in their midst of Mr. Politician-Imperialist or Mr. Richman-Capitalist, who in turn seem oblivious to the fundamental disagreement between their occupations and their religious faith. . . . How are we to deal with counterfeit Christians of this sort without disobeying the law of love laid down by Jesus?

That query may well be pondered by Christians in and out of China.

Many of the missionaries today have ceased to fly the American flag over their compounds, and some of them roundly say that if their presence as missionaries in China must involve special protection from the American government and the possibility of international complications, they would prefer either to get out or to become naturalized Chinese. I honor such men. But whatever their private opinions, whatever even their public statements, the Chinese will, I fear, continue to misunderstand them until the American government withdraws the special protection which it still insists upon giving them. The business men in general seem to want special protection; they associate with the British rather than with the Chinese, and regard the interests of the two English-speaking nations as identical. That is a dangerous identification, for the British even more than the Japanese symbolize imperialism to the Chinese today. It was their warships which imposed the unequal treaties; they "own" Hongkong and rule the international settlements; and they have a settled theory of the eternal differences between races. American business men in China tend to accept the British colonial social standards. An American in Shanghai not long ago asked two Chinese friends to lunch with him at the American Club the next day. He waited for them in vain. A few days later, meeting them on the street, he reproached them for failing to keep the engagement. "We came," they replied, "but the doorkeeper would not let us in. We were only Chinese."

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NEXT STEPS IN A PACIFIC POLICY
(*Continued from page* 187)

But mere recognition of Japan's economic difficulties will not suffice in our oriental policy. The Exclusion Act still stands upon our statute books. Peace in the Pacific must be based upon mutual respect, and respect cannot exist while this measure of exclusion is in force. The dangerous fire of racial feeling has been kindled, and if we do not act some fickle breeze of public whim may fan it into a conflagration at almost any moment.

Japanese leaders do not for a moment deny that America had a right to exclude the Japanese, or even that she was compelled to adopt exclusion by her own internal situation. It was the method—the gratuitous insult and rebuff from a nation which she had been admiring—that cut Japan so deeply. The step as taken, furthermore, was so unnecessary that it seemed to betoken some far more sinister aim than mere exclusion. The "grave consequences" incident has long since passed, but the consequences have not, at least in Japan. It is for America to cease discrimination.

Unpopular though it would prove in certain quarters, an integral and indispensable measure in any solution of the Pacific problem must be the earliest possible removal of the disabilities which Japanese suffer in the United States. Further, the restriction of Japanese immigration should be placed upon either a quota or a treaty basis, mutually supported and approved by both nations, and removed from the basis of a discourteous, high-handed unilateral act which completely prevents not only international comity but also inter-racial good will.

An American oriental policy, in short, may well succeed if it bars out coercion in China and anything bordering on discrimination in attitude or politics toward either Chinese or Japanese. The Pacific problem is one of attitudes, not to be solved without large minds and a breadth of view which realizes how deeply the present difficulties strike into the conflicting philosophies of Eastern and Western civilizations, white and colored races, and subordinate and dominant nations. The task is indescribably perplexing, but it constitutes the major remaining opportunity for mankind to devise something higher and infinitely finer in international relationships than the intrigue and opportunism which, across other oceans, has characterized the intercourse of nations and has led inevitably to war.

THE ORIENTAL FINDS A JOB
(*Continued from page* 153)

the impression that a Japanese has driven out an American citizen from a most desirable tract; the truth is that the Japanese cultivator has driven out only roots, skunk cabbage, and superfluous water.

The Japanese have not concentrated in business like the Chinese nor have they developed any such characteristic enterprise as the chop suey. On the contrary they have entered almost every form of retail and wholesale business associated with normal communal development. As the Japanese population in America has grown and segregated itself into more or less complete communal units the essential business and professional services have provided an occupational outlet for a considerable number of the population. The Japanese communities, unlike those of the Chinese, furnish their own economic base in agricultural production and their business enterprises make a connected chain from producer to consumer. The forms of Japanese business that branch most widely into the American community are those connected with the distribution of agricultural products, such as (*Continued on page* 221)

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Protect the Blossoms

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But at night, when you steal quietly in for a last good-night look, how like blossoms they seem—exquisite promises of the future. You dream of the things you hope to do for them—of the advantages you wish to give them—of the gifts you would like to lavish upon them. But has it occurred to you that there is something else that perhaps you should be doing for them right now?

Today—Before It Is Too Late

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These are things which, if not already done, you should do at once:

First. See that your children are vaccinated against smallpox.

Second. Make sure that they have toxin-antitoxin treatments to prevent diphtheria.

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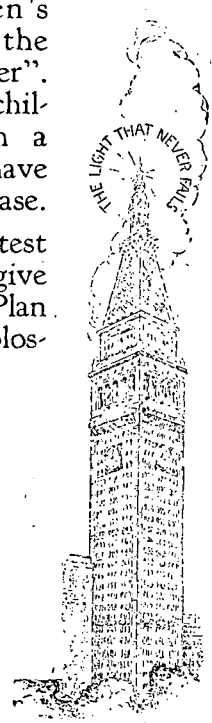
Frequently whooping cough leads to pneumonia or permanently injured lungs. Unless a child who has measles is carefully nursed,—pneumonia, mastoiditis or kidney trouble may result. In not a few instances, an attack of measles is the indirect cause of tuberculosis. Sometimes the little sufferer is left blind or deaf.

Do not make the mistake that some parents have made—do not think that your child must have all the children's diseases, and "the sooner the better". Never let well children play with a child known to have a contagious disease.

Health is the greatest blessing you can give your children. Plan for it now—in blossom time.



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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE HARD OF HEARING—Promotes the cause of the hard of hearing; assists in forming organizations. Pres., Dr. Gordon Berry; Field Secretary, Miss Betty Wright, 1601 35th St. N.W., Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION—Alice L. Edwards, executive secretary, 617 Mills Bldg., Washington, D. C. Organized for betterment of conditions in home, school, institution and community. Publishes monthly Journal of Home Economics: office of editor, 617 Mills Bldg., Washington, D. C.; of business manager, 1211 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONTROL OF CANCER—Dr. George A. Soper, managing director, 25 West 43rd Street, New York. To collect, collate and disseminate information concerning the symptoms, diagnosis, treatment and prevention. Publications free on request. Annual membership dues, $5.00.

AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION—370 Seventh Ave., New York. To promote a better understanding of the social hygiene movement; to advance sound sex education; to combat prostitution and sex delinquency; to aid public authorities in the campaign against the venereal diseases; to advise in organization of state and local social-hygiene programs. Annual membership dues $2.00 including monthly journal.

CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, Inc.—730 Fifth Avenue, New York. Telephone: Circle 9623. To secure Mothers Allowance laws in states now having no such provisions; to promote desirable amendments to existing Mothers Allowance laws, to harmonize them with the maximum necessary protection of dependent children; to secure proper laws affecting adoption, boarding out and placing out of dependent children; so far as possible to secure home life for normal children in preference to sending them to institutions; to aid in the enforcement of Mothers Pension and kindred laws. States Council of Child Welfare Committee of America comprises representatives of practically every state. Committee publishes digest of laws and educational material on Mothers Pension and kindred topics. Invites requests from responsible public and private organizations for aid in Mothers Pension problems. Sophie Irene Loeb, President; Governor Alfred E. Smith, Honorary Chairman; Margaret Woodrow Wilson, First Vice-President; Edward F. Brown, Executive Secretary.

COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS—156 Fifth Avenue, New York. Composed of 20 Protestant national women's mission boards. Florence E. Quinlan, Executive Secretary.
Work among Farm and Cannery Migrants, Summer service for college students, Laura H. Parker, Executive Supervisor.
Bureau of Reference for Migrating People, follow-up of New Americans, Raymond E. Cole, Executive.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA—Constituted by 28 Protestant communions. Rev. C. S. Macfarland and Rev. S. M. Cavert, Gen. Sec's; 105 E. 22d St., N.Y.C.
Dept. of Research and Education, Rev. F. E. Johnson, Sec'y.
Commissions: Church and Social Service, Rev. W. M. Tippy, Sec'y; International Justice and Goodwill: Rev. S. L. Gulick, Sec'y; Church and Race Relations: Dr. G. E. Haynes, Sec'y.

HAMPTON INSTITUTE—Trains Negro and Indian youth for community service. Advanced courses: agriculture, builders, business, home-economics, normal. Publishes "Southern Workman" and free material on Negro problems. J. E. Gregg, principal.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SERVICE—To assemble data on international social problems and through work with individual cases to develop methods of international social service. Headquarters, 10 Rue La Bourne, Geneva, Switzerland. Viscountess Gladstone, chairman; Professor Gilbert Murray, treasurer; Ruth Larned, executive. Address all inquiries to American Bureau, One Madison Avenue, New York City. Director, Mary E. Hurlbutt.

JOINT COMMITTEE ON METHODS OF PREVENTING DELINQUENCY—Graham Romeyn Taylor, executive director, 50 East 42nd Street, New York. To promote the adoption of sound methods in this field, with particular reference to psychiatric clinics, visiting teacher work, and training for these and similar services; to conduct related studies, education and publication; and to interpret the work of the Commonwealth Fund Program for the Prevention of Delinquency.

NATIONAL BOARD OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS—Mrs. Robert E. Speer, president; Miss Mabel Cratty, general secretary, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City. This organization maintains a staff of executive and traveling secretaries to cover work in the United States in 1,034 local Y. W. C. A.'s on behalf of the industrial, business, student, foreign born, Indian, Colored and younger girls. It has 159 American secretaries at work in 49 centers in the Orient, Latin America and Europe.

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE—Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary, 215 Fourth Avenue, New York. Industrial, agricultural investigators. Works for improved laws and administration, children's codes. Studies child labor, health, schools, recreation, dependency, delinquency, etc. Annual membership, $2, $5, $10, $25 and $100 includes monthly publication, "The American Child."

NATIONAL CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION, INC. (est. 1918, incorp. 1914), 70 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C. (tel. Chelsea 8774). Promotes as its chief object the building of character in the children of America through the harmonious development of their bodies, minds, and spirits. Its method is, in co-operation with other organizations, to originate and disseminate educational material in the form of posters, books, bulletins, charts, slides, and insignia. Through its "Knighthood of Youth" it provides homes, schools and church schools with a method of character training through actual practice. Officers: Dr. John H. Finley, Pres.; Amos L. Prescott, Treas.; Charles F. Powlison, Gen. Sec'y.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, INC.—Dr. William H. Welch, honorary president; Dr. Charles P. Emerson, president; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, medical director; Dr. Clarence J. D'Alton, executive assistant; Clifford W. Beers, secretary; 370 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Pamphlets on mental hygiene, mental and nervous disorders, feeblemindedness, epilepsy, inebriety, delinquency, and other mental problems in human behavior, education, industry, psychiatric social service, etc. "Mental Hygiene," quarterly, $3.00 a year; "Mental Hygiene Bulletin," monthly, $ .50 a year.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—Lewis H. Carris, managing director; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, associate director; Dr. B. Franklin Royer, medical director, and Miss Eleanor P. Brown, secretary; 370 Seventh Ave., New York. Objects: To furnish information, exhibits, lantern slides, lectures, personal service for local organizations and legislation, publish literature of movement—samples free, quantities at cost. Includes New York State Committee.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK—Miss Gertrude Vaile, President, Ithaca, N. Y.; W. H. Parker, Secretary, 25 East Ninth St., Cincinnati, Ohio. The Conference is an organization to discuss the principles of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the Proceedings of the meeting, and issues a quarterly Bulletin. The fifty-third annual meeting of the Conference will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, May 26-June 2, 1926. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of five dollars.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN—2109 Broadway, New York. Miss Rose Brenner, pres.; Mrs. Estelle M. Sternberger, ex. sec'y. Promotes civic cooperation, education, religion and social welfare in the United States, Canada, Cuba, Europe.
Department of Immigrant Aid—799 Broadway. Miss Florina Lasker, chairman. For the protection and education of immigrant women and girls.
Department of Farm and Rural Work—Mrs. Leo H. Herz, chairman, 5 Columbus Circle, New York City.

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NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION—Anna A. Gordon, president; Headquarters, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. To secure effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, to advance the welfare of the American people through the departments of Child Welfare, Women in Industry, Social Morality, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Americanization and other allied fields of endeavor. Official publication "The Union Signal" published at Headquarters.

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THE GREAT WALL OF CHINATOWN

(*Continued from page* 158)

largest single Negro quarter in the North, the Chinatowns of the coast are miniature affairs and the Chinatowns of the East to which one-third of the Chinese population has moved are even smaller; Vancouver's Chinatown has a population of from 800 to 1,000 persons, about 250 of whom are women. In extent it does not cover more than seventeen blocks and only six families live outside this area. Los Angeles has a Chinatown about the same size as Vancouver's, while the Chinese communities of Victoria, British Columbia, Seattle and Portland are even smaller. In San Francisco, where the Chinese population of perhaps 20,000 is declining, Chinatown is still not large enough so that the American-born have an opportunity to expand and to put down roots.

A Chinese whose family have lived in California and China alternately since the gold rush days is an important figure in San Francisco's Chinatown. When he was taken to China as a child of five, he laughed at the coolie-driven boats, and when at the age of eleven his family returned to San Francisco, he felt, he says, that he had come home. At first he was very shy about mixing with American boys, but happening to become a football star when in high school and a member of the team when at Stanford University, he succeeded in getting over his shyness. At present he is one of the wealthiest men in Chinatown, and has become so by his own efforts; but while business is his occupation, Chinatown politics is his sport. Instead of trying, like a Chinese politician of the older generation, to control one of Chinatown's cliques, he tries to conciliate all the cliques, and to persuade them that by amalgamating, they will enjoy more power than they have had before. He does not try to steer clear of the highbinder tongs and when some of the young morons and rowdies of the tongs get into a pinch, he gives them money.

This politician began by manipulating the affairs of his own family. The young men and old men of his family, who with the obstinacy of the Chinatown generations think they have nothing in common, each had a separate club.

The young men were very poor; the old men very wealthy. The ex-football star persuaded them, with much patience, to combine, to buy a magnificent building, and to hang the portraits of the family's ancestors over an American fireplace, although the old men were afraid the ancestors would be too hot. Incidentally, of course, the splendor of the new club building will add much to his personal prestige in Chinatown. He has also done much to reconcile the two great business cliques of San Francisco's Chinatown, the Sam Yups and the See Yups. Though he belongs to the See Yups, the Sam Yups now invite him to attend their business meetings in an advisory capacity, which is the first time such a thing has happened in Chinatown.

"The highbinder tongs," says this Chinatown politician, "can't last. It's true they run most of the organizations now, but remember this: no member of a fighting tong can be a member of the Chinese Native Sons and neither can he be elected an official of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

"Just wait until the native-born ride into power here among the Chinese in San Francisco—which will happen sometime within the next ten or twelve years—and you will see a different Chinatown."

Here is a man who, because of his popularity as an athlete, and because of the wide diverse human curiosities which have made him a politician, finds himself at home both in America and in Chinatown, free to go back and forth from one to the other. On one night he attends a solemn Chinese banquet, on another an American dinner, on a third he takes his wife and sons to one of the French restaurants for which San Francisco is famous. One of his brothers is a distinguished engineer who helped Sun Yat Sen to work out his ideas about the harbors of Canton. This brother is playing a role in the new China, while he himself is merely playing a role in the new Chinatown. But he is well satisfied. He has solved in his own person a problem vastly more important to Chinatown than that of the fighting tongs; he has gotten out of the ghetto.

THE ORIENTAL FINDS A JOB

(*Continued from page* 218)

vegetable and fruit stores, grocery stores, and nurseries; and those associated with domestic service, such as small hotels and rooming houses, dyeing and cleaning establishments, and barber shops.

Japanese business falls into two distinct types; first, the small independent establishment operated by one or two individuals who with a minimum of capital have gradually worked up from clerical or service positions to become proprietors of small shops; second, the branch office or foreign agency of some large Japanese corporation which is the product of international trade and the economic interlocking of Japan and America. This form of Japanese business extension is increasing yearly with the increase of trade between the two countries and is not unlike the occidental penetration of Japan and China.

The small business unit comes into keen competition with Americans and produces irritation and restrictive legislation. The branch business of the large corporation in Japan is usually welcomed because of the benefits derived from it by the white community, therefore making for mutual good-will.

The third stage of the occupational cycle of the Chinese and Japanese in America—the tendency toward wider vocational and territorial distribution—is now in progress. The Chinese have already spread to all the states of the Union and are gradually entering new forms of business. With this wider dissemination has come a pronounced mellowing of American sentiment and a disposition to champion their cause. The American-born generation of Japanese is still largely below the age of definite choice among occupations. Present indications are, however, that they are likely to turn from the agricultural pursuits of their parents and take up business in the city. A few may return to Japan but the great majority will remain in America and will undoubtedly scatter throughout the larger cities of the country as the Chinese have done.

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WANTED: Woman as matron in a Jewish orphanage, to supervise the moral and religious development of the children. Also capable of directing the household departments. Experience preferred, but not essential. Write stating qualifications, age, education and experience to A. D. Faber, Station G, Philadelphia, Pa.

WANTED: Dramatic Director for New York Social settlement, beginning September. Splendid equipment, unique opportunity. Answer 5467 SURVEY.

VACANCY for man and wife at $205 and maintenance monthly as house officers, school for delinquent boys near Chicago. 5471 SURVEY.

HOUSEMANAGER, Philadelphia Maternity Home; capacity 25 mothers and babies. Ability to train young girls required. Salary $900 per year and maintenance. 5473 SURVEY.

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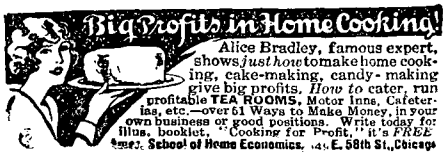
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ONE hundred years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the infant telephone was first exhibited at the Philadelphia Exposition.

Since the dawn of civilization, mankind had sought some means of communicating over distances which unaided human speech could not bridge. Drums, signal fires, runners, the pony express, and finally the electric telegraph were means to get the message through. It remained for the telephone to convey a speaker's words and tones over thousands of miles.

"My God, it talks!" exclaimed the Emperor of Brazil before a group of scientists at the Philadelphia Exposition, as he recognized the voice of Alexander Graham Bell, demonstrating the new invention.

Today, after a brief half-century, the telephone lines of the Bell System have become the nerves of the nation. The telephone connects citizen with citizen, city with city, state with state for the peace and prosperity of all.

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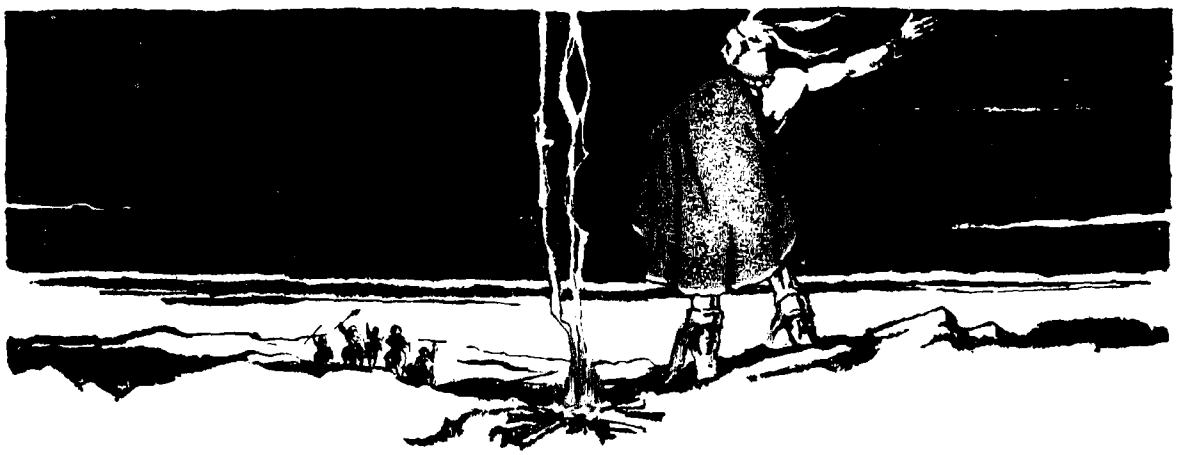

Now the Conclave Signal!

Have you made your reservation?

Reservations, especially for single rooms are going fast.

Act promptly. A last minute rush of reservation demands is sure to result in dissatisfaction to some.

We can not tell you all the good things in store for you at the Cleveland Conference—it is sure to make history. Plan now to come.

"Keep pace with the forward march of Social Work"

SMOKE, curling up from a hilltop fire, called the ancient Indian tribes together for solemn powwows.

Today Cleveland is calling the hosts of social work supporters. The printed message replaces the signal fire; the "powwow" is the annual National Conference of Social Work.

Already they answer the call—space is going fast in our hotel "wigwams". Attendance of those who "keep pace with the forward march of Social Work" is sure to break Conference records.

The program is complete. Entertainment surprises are in store. Many of your friends will be here.

This is the Conference month—only a brief span of days ahead! Answer today Cleveland's welcoming signal.

"Keep pace with the forward march of Social Work"

Fifty-third Annual

National Conference of Social Work

Cleveland, Ohio, May 26—June 2

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